

AN
HISTORICAL AND PRACTICAL
E S S A Y
ON THE
CULTURE AND COMMERCE
OF
TOBACCO.

By *WILLIAM TATHAM.*

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P R E F A C E.

AN useful work needs no indelicate recommendation; nor can a bad one be supported by it, although a sonorous patron might happen to help the sale. Such as I have I give unto the world with a heart conscious of upright intentions; and I candidly confess I am more disposed to do them real service than to flatter. If the reader find me imperfect it will be some little apology that I am but a man; and it may be a farther excuse that I neither possess a disposition to cloak my defects under a dedication, or a party to dedicate to. This work, being devoted to the prosperity of commerce, bids me take my leave of compliment and attend to my subject.

I have been led, by mere casualty, to trace the history of *Tobacco* from its primitive source;

and I have persevered in the design of searching out, as far as I have found it practicable, those things which tend to enlighten a subject of novelty for the benefit of traffic. I am compelled, by time and circumstances, to curtail my book for the present; yet with confident hopes that the public approbation will call for a supplementary part, which, I trust, will render my design more completely useful.

I beg leave to notice, on the authority of *Mr. P. La' Bat*, that the botanical term *Nicotiana*, took its origin from the person who first introduced it into France: it is a circumstance which I do not find elsewhere recorded, that, *Jean Nicot*, master of requests, ambassador from Francis II. to Sebastian king of Portugal, had this honour; and I recite it for the use of botanists.

If I should be so fortunate as to accomplish the publication of a second volume, it is my intention to throw some useful lights upon the manufacture of this article; upon its history in France, Spain, Germany, Holland,
and

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and other countries concerned in its culture, commerce, or manufactures; and, ultimately, to add an useful appendix of tables and prices current, in a way suited to ready reference.

THE AUTHOR.

November, 1799.

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* Not being regularly acquainted with natural history, I find I am mistaken in my first idea concerning the *eruca maxima cornuta*, p. 21. It appears to be a distinct insect from the common *tobacco* or *horn* worm ; which I have since been so fortunate as to obtain the drawing of from nature, that this plate is engraved from. I am certain, however, that there is a similar insect to be found also amongst the tobacco plants.

EXPLANATION

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

Plate of the Plant, p. 2.

- a*, A Flower Bud.
- b*, A Flower, the funnel shaped corolla being cut open to shew the five stamina, the pistil, and capsula.
- c*, The Flower, as it appears when full blown.
- d*, A transverse section of the capsula.
- e*, The Leaf of the plant, having a hole in it, eaten by a tobacco worm.

Plate of the Worm, p. 21.

- a*, The Chrysalis.
- b*, The Caterpillar, or *horn worm*.
- c*, The fly state, or Moth, vulgarly called the tobacco hawk.

Plate of the Tobacco House, &c. p. 29.

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- b*, Tobacco hanging upon a scaffold.
- c*, The operation of prizing.
- d*, Inside view of a Tobacco House, shewing the tobacco hanging to cure.
- e*, An outside view of public warehouses.
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ON THE
CULTURE OF TOBACCO.

PART I.

Introductory Remarks.

HAVING lately seen a few plants of American Tobacco growing casually in a gentleman's garden near London, and perceiving that very little is generally known in England concerning the history and ordinary culture of an article of commerce which has occupied a considerable capital in transatlantic traffic for about two hundred years; and indeed a plant which is peculiarly adapted for *an agricultural comparison of climates*; without entering so far into the subject as to consider it a staple produce of the nation, I beg leave to communicate a few particulars in respect to the history and culture of this luxuriant commodity, which I am enabled to state from authorities, and from what

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I recol-

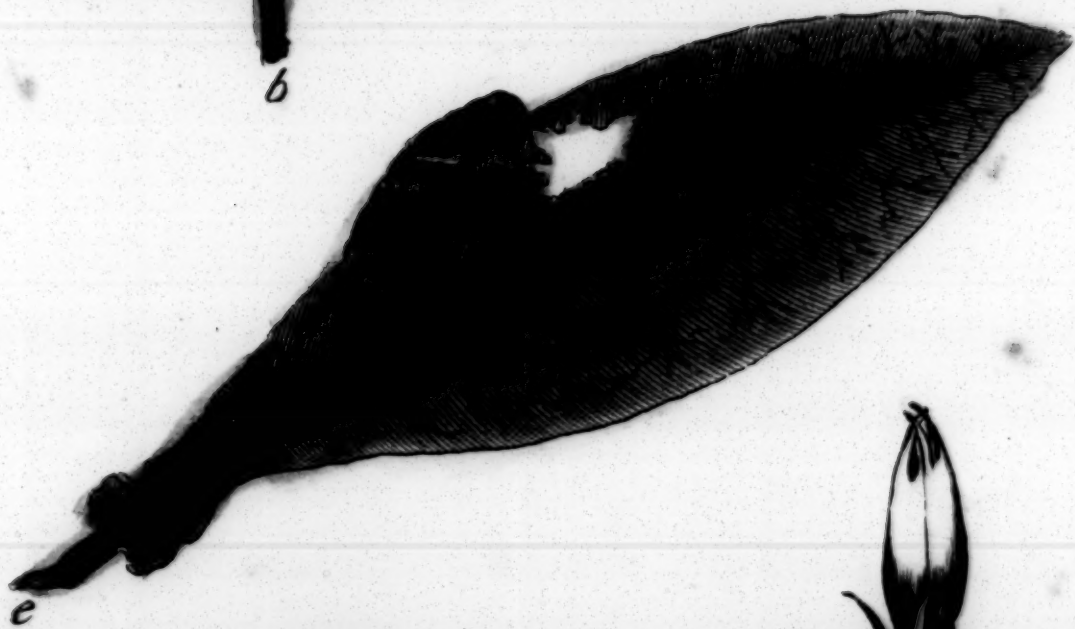
I recollect to have noticed during twenty years residence in Virginia, where it is a principal export.

Botanical Definition.

The botanical account of tobacco is as follows *:—"NICOTIANA, the tobacco plant, is a genus of plants of the order of *Monogynia*, belonging to the *pentandria* class, order I, of class v. The calyx is a permanent perianthum, formed of a single leaf, divided into five segments, and of an oval figure. The corolla consists of a single petal, funnel-shaped. The tube is longer than the cup. The limb is patulous, lightly divided into five segments, and folded in five places. The fruit is a capsule of a nearly oval figure. There is a line on each side of it, and it contains two cells, and opens at the top. The receptacles are of a half oval figure, punctuated and affixed to the separating body. The seeds are numerous, kidney-shaped, and rugose.

"The species of this genus are reduced by Linnæus into four. 1. *Nicotiana* with spear-shaped leaves. 2. *Nicotiana* with oval-shaped leaves, commonly called English tobacco. 3. Ni-

* Wheeler's Botanist's Dictionary, p. 322.



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cotiana with heart-shaped leaves, paniculated flowers, and club-shaped tubes. 4. Nicotiana with heart-shaped leaves, branching petals, and unequal cups.

“ The first species is a native of America, and is an annual plant, propagated by seeds, which must be sown upon a moderate hot bed in March.

“ When the plants are fit to be removed, they should be transplanted into a new hot bed, of a moderate warmth, about four inches asunder. Let them be watered and shaded till they have taken root, after which they will require air in proportion to the warmth of the season; they must also be frequently watered, and about the beginning of May they should be inured to the open air; then let them be transplanted into a rich light soil, in rows four feet asunder, and three feet distance in the rows. When they begin to shew their flower stems, their tops should be cut off, if they are designed for use, that their leaves may be the better nourished; but if they are designed for ornament, let them be planted in the borders of the pleasure garden, and suffered to grow to their full height.

“ The second species is found growing wild in many parts of England; this sort may be

propagated by sowing the seeds in March, upon a bed of light earth, and when the plants are come up, they may be transplanted into any part of the garden, where they will require no farther care. The third and fourth species are annual plants, and natives of Peru, and may be propagated in the manner directed for the first sort."

So far with regard to the botanical definitions of the respective kinds of tobacco, and the mode of culture recommended in England. I am persuaded however that the usual field culture of Virginia would succeed in the vicinity of London, and in the southern parts of England. I shall confine myself to the first species*; and shall endeavour to give an account of
of

* The different species of the genus have been in former days distinguished in Virginia by the names of Oronoko, sweet scented, and little Frederic; but I have not been able to learn from the inspectors themselves (who I have frequently questioned thereupon) that their botanical knowledge is sufficient to distinguish, at this day, one species from another of the blended mass, by any leading characteristic upon which they can pointedly rely: and hence (although the *law* affects to make a distinction) we most generally find all kinds classed in the Oronoko column of the tobacco note.

Question a planter on the subject, and he will tell you that he cultivates such or such a kind: as, for example,
"Colonel

of the method of culture, the mode of curing and vending, and of the legal regulations of this staple in Virginia.

Of the Choice of Ground.

So much depends upon the choice of ground suitable for the cultivation of this plant, and so much has this kind of cultivation been encouraged by commerce in Virginia, that this consideration has heretofore had considerable influence on the value of estates. Indeed this would seem to be a good criterion to decide the innate worth of soils; for it is certain that lands which do produce good crops, or full grown plants, of tobacco, will succeed in any other branch of husbandry. The lands which are found to answer best, in their *natural state* in Virginia, are the light red, or chocolate coloured mountain lands; the light black mountain soil in the coves of the mountains, and the richest low grounds. Hence has arisen the general reputation of the Virginia tobaccos,

“Colonel Carter’s fort, John Cole’s fort,” or some other leading crop master; and if the celebrated Linnæus were at this day to class the characteristics of Virginia tobacco, he would probably discover several divergent species, in which nature and accident might seem to have cohabited sportively.

and, chiefly, the local reputations of particular tobaccos brought to market: as, for example, *James's River tobacco*, *Tayloe's Mountain quarter tobacco*, &c. which are preferred. The condition of soil of which the planters make choice, is that in which nature presents it when it is first disrobed of the woods with which it is naturally clothed throughout every part of the country: hence in the parts where this culture prevails, this is termed *new ground*, which may be there considered as synonymous with *tobacco ground*. Thus the planter is continually cutting down *new ground*, and every successive spring presents an additional field, or *opening* of tobacco (for it is not necessary to put much fence round that kind of crop); and to procure this *new ground* you will observe him clearing the woods from the sides of the steepest hills which afford a suitable soil; for a Virginian never thinks of reinstating or manuring his land with economy until he can find no more *new land* to exhaust, or wear out, as he calls it; and, besides, the tobacco which is produced from manured or *cow-penned* land*,

* *Cow-penned land* is that which is manured by removing the cattle about upon it, so that herds are confined during the night time to successive squares or pieces of ground at option, until a sufficient quantity of manure is deposited. This is effected by means of moveable fences.

is only considered, in ordinary, to be a crop of the second quality. It will hence be perceived (and more particularly when it is known that the earth must be continually worked to make a good crop of tobacco, without even regarding the heat of the sun, or the torrent of sudden showers), that howsoever lucrative this kind of culture may be in respect to the intermediate profits, there is a considerable drawback in the waste of soil. Indeed, if all accounts were fairly kept for experiment's sake, upon three adjoining estates of equal size and quality, and one of these were cultivated in grain and grass, another left remaining in woodland, and the third cultivated in tobacco for twenty years successively, I have no hesitation in believing, that either of the two first would yield more than the latter; or that the drawback of wastage upon the tobacco lands would reduce the sum total of the premises and net productions beneath the saleable value of the woodland tract which had lain twenty years neglected.

Of the Plant Beds.

The plant beds, or *plant patches* (to use the local phrase), are the places set apart by the crop master for sowing the seed of the tobacco;

and wherein the plants are suffered to grow until the season approaches for planting the crop.

The quality of earth, and places which are universally chosen for this purpose, are newly cleared lands of the best possible light black soil, situated as near to a small stream of water as they can be conveniently found, due attention being paid to the dryness of the place. The beds, or *patches*, as they are called, differ in size, from the bigness of a small fallad bed, to a quarter of an acre, according to the magnitude of the crop proposed; and they are prepared for receiving the seed in March and the early part of April, as the season suits, first by burning upon them large heaps of brush wood, the stalks of the maize or indian corn, straw, or other rubbish; and afterwards, by digging and raking them in the same manner of preparing ground for lettuce seed; which is generally sown mixed with the tobacco seed (the same process being suitable to both plants); and which answers the double purpose of feeding the labourer, and of protecting the young tobacco plant from the *fly*; for which intent a border of mustard seed round the plant patch is found to be an effectual remedy, as the fly prefers mustard, especially *white* mustard, to any other

other young plant; and will continue to feed upon that until the tobacco plant waxes strong, and becomes mature enough for transplantation.

We must now leave the plant bed to prepare for cultivation.

OF THE CULTURE OF THE CROP.

First, of preparing the Tobacco Ground.

There are two distinct and separate methods of preparing the tobacco ground: the one is applicable to the preparation of new and uncultivated lands, such as are in a state of nature, and require to be cleared of the heavy timber and other productions with which Providence has stocked them; and the other method is designed to meliorate and revive lands of good foundation, which have been heretofore cultivated, and, in some measure, exhausted by the calls of agriculture and evaporation.

The process of preparing new lands begins as early in the winter as the housing and managing the antecedent crop will permit, by grubbing the under growth with a mattock; felling

falling the timber with a poll-axe* ; lopping off the tops, and cutting the bodies into lengths of about eleven feet, which is about the customary length of an American fence rail, in what is called a *worm* or *pannel* fence†. During

* This is a short, thick, heavy-headed axe, of a somewhat oblong shape, with which the Americans make great dispatch. They treat the English poll-axe with great contempt, and always work it over again as old iron before they deem it fit for their use.

† The *worm* or *pannel* fence, originally of Virginia, consists of logs or malled rails from about four to six or eight inches thick, and eleven feet in length. A good fence consists of ten rails and a rider, or perhaps nine rails and two riders ; and the law requires a fence to be maintained good of a certain regulated height, before a proprietor can be justified in distraining cattle, damage feasant, or support an action of trespass. It is called a worm fence from the zigzag manner of its construction, which is as follows : The lowest rail is laid upon the ground, then one end is raised up and a similar rail placed under it in an oblique direction ; another rail is alternately added in succession in the same way, until the length of fence required is described ; the ends of each rail being suffered to overlap each other about a foot ; and these corners of the fence are generally raised upon a stone or short block, to save them from decay.

The worm (as it is called) being thus laid, the same process is repeated until the fence rises to the height of nine or ten rails ; two stakes (somewhat shorter than the rails will do) are then brought to each corner or intersecting angle of the rails which compose the fence, and one end of each being let into the ground with a hoe or mattock on each side of

During this part of the process the negro women, boys, and weaker labourers, are employed in piling or throwing the brush-wood, roots, and small wood, into heaps to be burned; and after such logs or stocks are selected as are suitable to be milled into rails, make clap-boards, or answer for other more particular occasions of the planter, the remaining logs are rolled into heaps by means of hand-spikes and *skids**; but the Pennsylvania and German farmers, who are more conversant with animal powers than the Virginians, save much of this labour by the use of a pair of horses with a half sledge, or a pair of truck wheels. The burning of this brush-wood, and the log piles, is a business for all hands after working hours;

of the fence, the other ends are suffered to lean against it, forming a crotch or cross over the interlapping corner: into this cross one or more courses of heavy rails are laid (termed *riders*), which serve to lock and keep the whole partition secure. It is in allusion to this zigzag foundation that a drunken man is said to be *laying out Virginia fences*.

Mr. Weld, in his plate of an *American stage waggon*, has given a good representation of a Virginia plantation; but his fence (like many other parts of his work) wants to be staked and ridered.

* *Skids* are two or more strong saplings or other pieces of long timber, upon which timber hogheads, &c. are rolled and facilitated upon the principle of the inclined plane.

and

and as nightly revels are peculiar to the African constitution, this part of the labour proves often a very late employment, which affords many scenes of rustic mirth.

When this process has cleared the land of its various natural incumbrances (to attain which end is very expensive and laborious), the next part of the process is that of the hoe; for the plough is an implement which is rarely used in *new* lands when they are either designed for tobacco or meadow.

There are three kinds of the hoe which are applied to this tillage: the first is what is termed the sprouting hoe, which is a smaller species of mattock that serves to break up any particular hard part of the ground, to grub up any smaller sized grubs which the mattock or grubbing hoe may have omitted, to remove small stones and other partial impediments to the next process.

The *narrow* or *hilling* hoe follows the operation of the sprouting hoe. It is generally from six to eight inches wide, and ten or twelve in the length of the blade, according to the strength of the person who is to use it; the blade is thin, and by means of a moveable wedge which is driven into the eye of the hoe, it can be set more or less *digging* (as it is termed),

termed), that is, on a greater or less angle with the helve, at pleasure. In this respect there are few instances where the American blacksmith is not employed to alter the eye of an *English*-made hoe before it is fit for use; the industrious and truly useful merchants of Glasgow have paid more minute attention to this circumstance.

The use of this hoe is to break up the ground and throw it into shape; which is done by chopping the clods until they are sufficiently fine, and then drawing the earth round the foot until it forms a heap round the projected leg of the labourer like a mole hill, and nearly as high as the knee; he then draws out his foot, flattens the top of the hill by a *dab* with the flat part of the hoe, and advances forward to the next hill in the same manner, until the whole piece of ground is prepared. The centre of these hills are in this manner guessed by the eye; and in most instances they approach near to lines of four feet one way, and three feet the other. The planter always endeavours to time this operation so as to tally with the growth of his plants, so that he may be certain by this means to pitch his crop within season.

The third kind of hoe is the *broad* or *weeding*

ing hoe. This is made use of during the cultivation of the crop, to keep it clean from the weeds. It is wide upon the edge, say from ten inches to a foot, or more; of thinner substance than the hilling hoe, not near so deep in the blade, and the eye is formed more bent and shelving than the latter, so that it can be set upon a more acute angle upon the helve at pleasure, by removing the wedge. We shall have occasion to notice the application of this implement under a subsequent head of this paper.

Of the Season for Planting.

The term, *season* for planting, signifies a shower of rain of sufficient quantity to wet the earth to a degree of moisture which may render it safe to draw the young plants from the plant bed, and transplant them into the hills which are prepared for them in the field, as described under the last head; and these seasons generally commence in April, and terminate with what is termed the *long season in May*; which (to make use of an Irishism) very frequently happens in June; and is the opportunity which the planter finds himself necessitated to seize with eagerness for the *pitching* of his crop:

a term which comprehends the ultimate opportunity which the spring will afford him for planting a quantity equal to the capacity of the collective power of his labourers when applied in cultivation.

By the time which these *seasons* approach, nature has so ordered vegetation, that the weather has generally enabled the plants (if duly sheltered from the spring frosts, a circumstance to which a planter should always be attentive in selecting his plant patch) to shoot forward in sufficient strength to bear the vicissitude of transplantation.

They are supposed to be equal to meet the imposition of this task when the leaves are about the size of a dollar ; but this is more generally the minor magnitude of the leaves ; and some will be of course about three or four times that medium dimension.

Thus, when a good shower or season happens at this period of the year, and the field and plants are equally ready for the intended union, the planter hurries to the plant bed, disregarding the teeming element, which is doomed to wet his skin, from the view of a bountiful harvest, and having carefully drawn the largest sizeable plants, he proceeds to the next operation.

Of

Of Planting.

The office of *planting* the tobacco is performed by two or more persons, in the following manner: The first person bears, suspended upon one arm, a large basket full of the plants which have been just drawn and brought from the plant bed to the field, without waiting for an intermission of the shower, although it should rain ever so heavily; such an opportunity indeed, instead of being shunned, is eagerly sought after, and is considered to be the sure and certain means of laying a good foundation, which cherishes the hope of a bounteous return. The person who bears the basket proceeds thus by rows from hill to hill; and upon each hill he takes care to drop one of his plants. Those who follow make a hole in the centre of each hill with their fingers, and having adjusted the tobacco plant in its natural position, they knead the earth round the root with their hands, until it is of a sufficient consistency to sustain the plant against wind and weather. In this condition they leave the field for a few days until the plants shall have formed their radications; and where any of them shall have casually perished, the ground is followed over again by successive

ſucceſſive replantings, until the crop is rendered complete.

Of Hoeing the Crop.

The operation of *hoeing* comprehends two diſtinct functions, viz. that of hilling, and that of weeding; and there are moreover two ſtages of hilling. The firſt hilling commences, as heretofore deſcribed, in the preparation of the field previous to planting the crop, and it is performed, as before explained, by means of the peculiar implement called a hilling hoe; the ſecond hilling is performed after the crop is planted, with a view to ſuccour and ſupport the plant as it may happen to want ſtrengthening, by giving a firm and permanent foundation to its root; and it may be effected according to the demand of the reſpective plants by a dexterity in changing the ſtroke with the weeding hoe, without any neceſſity to recur to the more appropriate utenſil.

The more direct uſe of the weeding hoe commences with the firſt growth of the tobacco after tranſplantation, and never ceases until the plant is nearly ripe, and ready to be *laid by*, as they term the laſt weeding with the hoe; for he who would have a good crop of

C

tobacco,

tobacco, or of maize, must not be sparing of his labour, but must keep the ground constantly stirring during the whole growth of the crop. And it is a rare instance to see the plough introduced as an assistant, unless it be the *flook plough*, for the purpose of introducing a sowing of wheat for the following year, even while the present crop is growing; and this is frequently practised in fields of maize, and sometimes in fields of tobacco, which may be ranked amongst the best fallow crops, as it leaves the ground perfectly clean and naked, permitting neither grass, weed, nor vegetable, to remain standing in the space which it has occupied.

Of Topping the Plant.

This operation, simply, is that of pinching off with the *thumb nail** the leading stem or sprout of the plant, which would, if left alone, run up to flower and seed; but which, from the more substantial formation of the leaf by the help of the nutritive juices, which are thereby afforded to the lower parts of the

* Many of the Virginians let the thumb nail grow long, and harden it *in the candle*, for this purpose: not for the use of gouging out people's eyes, as some have thought fit to insinuate.

plant,

plant, and thus absorbed through the ducts and fibres of the leaf, is rendered more weighty, thick, and fit for market. The qualified sense of this term is applicable to certain legal restrictions founded upon long experience, and calculated to compel an amendment in the culture of this staple of the Virginia trade, so that it shall at all times excel in foreign markets, and thus justly merit a superior reputation. I do not exactly recollect the present limitation by law, which has changed I believe with the progress of experience; but the custom is to top the plant to nine, seven, or five leaves, as the quality and soil may seem most likely to bear.

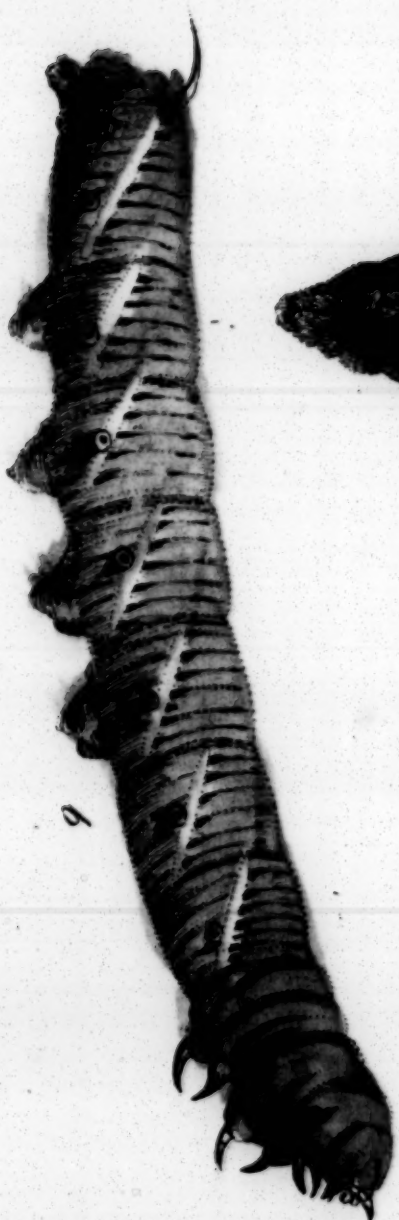
Of the Sucker, and Suckering.

The *sucker* is a superfluous sprout which is wont to make its appearance and shoot forth from the stem or stalk, near to the junction of the leaves with the stem, and about the root of the plant; and if these suckers are permitted to grow, they injure the marketable quality of the tobacco by compelling a division of its nutriment during the act of maturation. The planter is therefore careful to destroy these intruders with the thumb nail, as in the act of *topping*, and this process is termed *suckering*.

This superfluity of vegetation, like that of the top, has been often the subject of legislative care; and the policy of supporting the good name of the Virginia produce has dictated the wisdom of penal laws to maintain her good faith against imposition upon strangers who trade with her. It has been customary in former ages to rear an inferior plant from the sucker which projects from the root after the cutting of an early plant; and thus a *second* crop has been often obtained from the same field by one and the same course of culture; and although this scion is of a sufficient quality for smoking, and might become preferred in the weaker kinds of snuff, it has been (I think very properly) thought eligible to prefer a prohibitory law, to a risk of imposition by means of similitude.

The practice of cultivating *suckers* is on these accounts not only discountenanced as fraudulent, but the constables are strictly enjoined *ex officio* to make diligent search, and to employ the posse commitatus in destroying such crops; a law indeed for which, to the credit of the Virginians, there is seldom occasion; yet some few instances have occurred, within my day, where the constables have very honourably carried it into execution in a manner

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Whomans Sculp?

ner truly exemplary, and productive of public good.

Of the Worm.

There are several species of the worm, or rather *grub* genus, which prove injurious to the culture of tobacco; some of these attack the root, and some the leaf of the plant; but that which is most destructive, and consequently creates the most employment, is the *horn* worm, or large green tobacco worm. This appears to me to be the same species with that which Catesby has described in the second volume of his Natural History of Carolina, p. 94, under the title of *eruca maxima cornuta*, or the great horned caterpillar.

“ This caterpillar,” says he, “ is about four inches long, besides the head and tail; it consists of ten joints, or rings, of a yellow colour; on the head, which is black, grow four pair of horns, smooth and of a reddish brown towards the bottom, jagged or bearded, and black towards the top; on each of the rings arise short jagged black horns, one standing on the back, and two on each side; below which is a *trachæa* on each side; likewise the horn of the back of the last ring is longest: the flap of

the tail is of a bright bay colour. It hath eight feet, and six *papillæ*."

There are, besides this kind, others without horns; all of them of a green colour, so far as I recollect*. And this, in Catesby's description, differs in respect to colour; this tobacco worm or *horn* worm, as the planters call it more particularly, being of a pale delicate green; an effect I apprehend which proceeds from the colour of its food when it feeds upon growing tobacco plants. The act of destroying these worms is termed *worming* the tobacco, which is a very nauseous occupation, and takes up much labour. It is performed by picking every thing of this kind off the respective leaves with the hand, and destroying it with the foot.

Of the Term "Firing."

During very rainy seasons, and in some kinds of unfavourable soil, the plant is subject to a malady called *firing*. This is a kind of blight occasioned by the moist state of the atmosphere, and the too moist condition of the plant: I do not recollect whether the opposite

* Marian's folio Dissertation on the Insects of Surinam contains a great variety of this genus; the green ones whereof resemble the several kinds of tobacco worm.

extreme does not produce an effect something similar. This injury is much dreaded by the planter, as it spots the leaf with a hard brown spot, which perishes, and becomes so far a loss upon the commodity. I apprehend there are two stages when the plant is, in a certain degree, subject to this evil effect: the first is whilst growing in the field, the latter when hanging in the tobacco house. I know of no other remedy than constant working the ground while the seed is growing, and careful drying by the use of fire in the tobacco house.

Of the Ripening of the Crop.

Much practice is requisite to form a judicious discernment concerning the state and progress of the ripening leaf; yet care must be used to cut up the plant as soon as it is sufficiently ripe to promise a good curable condition, lest the approach of frost should tread upon the heels of the crop-master; for in this case, tobacco will be among the first plants that feel its influence, and the loss to be apprehended in this instance, is not a mere partial damage by nipping, but a total consumption by the destruction of every plant.

I find it difficult to give to strangers a full

idea of the ripening of the leaf: it is a point on which I would not trust my own experience without consulting some able crop-master in the neighbourhood; and I believe this is not an uncouth precaution among those who plant it. So far as I am able to convey an idea, which I find it easier to understand than to express, I should judge of the ripening of the leaf by its thickening sufficiently; by the change of its colour to a more yellowish green; by a certain mellow appearance, and protrusion of the web of the leaf, which I suppose to be occasioned by a contraction of the fibres; and by such other appearances as I might conceive to indicate an ultimate suspension of the vegetative functions.

Of Cutting and Gathering the Crop.

When the crop is adjudged sufficiently ripe to proceed to cutting, this operation is assigned to the best and most judicious hands who are employed in the culture; and these being provided each with a strong sharp knife, proceed along the respective rows of the field to select such plants as appear to be ripe, leaving others to ripen; those which are cut are sliced off near to the ground, and such plants as have thick stalks or stems are sliced down the middle of the
stem

stem in order to admit a more free and equal circulation of air through the parts during the process of curing, and to free the plant, as far as possible, from such partial retention of moisture as might have a tendency to ferment, and damage the staple. The plants are then laid down upon the hill where they grew, with the points of the leaves projecting all the same way, as nearly as possible, so that when the sun has had sufficient effect to render them pliable, they may more easily and uniformly be gathered into *turns** by the gatherers who follow the cutting.

Of Gathering the Crop in.

For the better comprehending the method of gathering the crop, it is necessary to understand the preparation which must be previously made for facilitating this part of the process.

In preparing for gathering the crop of tobacco it is customary to erect a kind of scaffold in various places of the tobacco ground which may happen to offer a convenient situation. This is done by lodging one end of several strong poles upon any log or fence which

* A *turn* signifies such a quantity as each person respectively can carry upon his shoulder or in his arms.

may be convenient, and resting the other end of such poles upon a transverse pole supported by forks, at about five feet from the ground; or by erecting the whole scaffold upon forks if circumstances require it.

In forming this part of the scaffold in the manner of joists, the poles are placed about four feet asunder from center to center, so that when the sticks which sustain the tobacco plants are prepared they may fill the space advantageously by leaving but little spare room upon the scaffold*.

Timber is then split in the manner of laths, into pieces of four feet in length, and about an inch and a half diameter. These are termed the *tobacco sticks*; and their use is to hang the tobacco upon, both by lodging the ends of this stick upon the poles of the scaffold which have been previously prepared in the field, in order to render it sufficiently pliable and in condition to carry into the tobacco-house, to which it is now conveyed by such means as the planter has in his power; and by suspending it in the same way in the house, so

* This is what I apprehend to be the *formal* method; but all do not observe regularity; many are contented with laying it upon logs and fences, and the change of weather often hurries it under cover in any way.

that the air may pass through it in the process of curing. Instead of this particular method, those who prefer to do so, lay it a short while in bulk upon poles, logs, &c. in the field, before they convey it under cover.

We must now leave the field to attend to the further process in the tobacco-house, or barn, which will form the next part, or division, of this subject.

PART II.

ON THE MANNER OF HOUSING, CURING, AND
VENDING TOBACCO IN VIRGINIA.*Of the Tobacco House and its Variety.*

THE barn which is appropriated to the use of receiving and curing this crop, is not, in the manner of other barns, connected with the farm yard, so that the whole occupation may be rendered snug and compact, and occasion little waste of time by inconsiderate and useless locomotion; but it is constructed to suit the particular occasion in point of size, and is generally erected in, or by the side of, each respective piece of tobacco ground; or sometimes in the woods, upon some hill or particular site which may be convenient to more than one field of tobacco.

The sizes which are most generally built where this kind of culture prevails, are what are called forty feet, and sixty feet tobacco houses, that is, of these lengths respectively, and of a proportionate width; and the plate
of

of the wall, or part which supports the eaves of the roof, is generally elevated from the groundsel about the pitch of twelve feet.

About twelve feet pitch is indeed a good height for the larger crops; because this will allow four feet pitch each to three successive tiers of tobacco, besides those which are hung in the roof; and this distance admits a free circulation of air, and is a good space apart for the process of curing the plant.

There are various methods in use in respect to the construction of tobacco houses, and various materials of which they are constructed; but such are generally found upon the premises as suffice for the occasion. And although these sizes are most prevalent, yet tobacco houses are in many instances built larger or smaller according to the circumstances of the proprietor, or the size of the spot of ground under cultivation.

The most ordinary kinds consist of two square pens built out of logs of six or eight inches thick, and from sixteen to twenty feet long. Out of this material the two pens are formed by notching the logs near their extremities with an axe; so that they are alternately fitted one upon another, until they rise to a competent height; taking care to fit joists
in

in at the respective tiers of four feet space, so that scaffolds may be formed by them similar to those heretofore described to have been erected in the open field, for the purpose of hanging the sticks of tobacco upon, that they may be open to a free circulation of air during this stage of the process. These pens are placed on a line with each other, at the opposite extremes of an oblong square, formed of such a length as to admit of a space between the two pens wide enough for the reception of a cart or waggon. This space, together with the two pens, is covered over with one and the same roof, the frame of which is formed in the same way of the walls by notching the logs as aforesaid, and narrowing up the gable ends to a point at the upper extremity of the house, termed the ridge pole. The remaining part of the fabric consists of a rough cover of thin slabs of wood split first with a mall and wedges, and afterwards riven with an instrument or tool termed a *froe*. The only thing which then remains to be done, is to cut a door into each of the pens, which is done by putting blocks or wedges in betwixt the logs which are to be cut out, and securing the jambs with side pieces pinned on with an auger and wooden pins. The roof is secured by weighting it
down

down with logs ; so that neither hammer, nails, brick, or stone, is concerned in the structure ; and locks and keys are very rarely deemed necessary.

The second kind of tobacco houses differ somewhat from these, with a view to longer duration. The logs are to this end more choicely selected. The foundation consists of four well hewn groundfells, of about eight by ten inches, levelled and laid upon cross sawed blocks of a larger tree, or upon large stones. The corners are truly measured, and squared diamond-wise, by which means they are more nicely notched in upon each other ; the roof is fitted with rafters, footed upon wall plates, and covered with *clap-boards** nailed upon the rafters in the manner of slating. In all other respects this is the same with the last mentioned method ; and both are left open for the passage of the air between the logs.

The third kind is laid upon a foundation similar to the second ; but instead of logs, the walls are composed of posts and studs, tenoned into the fells, and braced ; the top of these are mounted with a wall-plate and joists ; upon

* *Clap-boards* are thin pieces of four feet long, riven generally out of white oak, and one edge thicker than the other.

these

these come the rafters; and the whole is covered with clap-boards and nails, so as to form one uninterrupted oblong square, with doors, &c. termed, as heretofore, a forty, sixty, or one hundred feet tobacco house, &c.

The fourth species of these differs from the third only in the covering, which is generally of good sawed *feather-edged** plank; in the roof, which is now composed of *shingles*†; and in the doors and finishing, which consist of good sawed plank, hinged, &c. Sometimes this kind are underpinned with a brick or stone wall beneath the groundfels; but they have no floors or windows, except a plank or two along the sides to raise upon hinges for sake of air, and occasional light: indeed, if these were constructed with sides similar to the brewery tops in London, I think it would be found advantageous.

In respect to the inside framing of a tobacco house, one description may serve for every kind: they are so contrived as to admit poles in the nature of a scaffold through every part of them, ranging four feet from centre to centre, which is the length of the tobacco stick, as heretofore

* *Feather-edged plank*, sawed stuff similar to clap-boards.

† *Shingles*, wooden covering, in the method of flating.

described; and the lower tiers should be so contrived as to remove away occasionally, in order to pursue other employments at different stages in the process of curing the crop.

Of Preparations for curing the Tobacco Plant.

When the plant has remained long enough exposed to the sun, or open air, after cutting, to become sufficiently pliant to bear handling and removal with convenience, it must be removed to the tobacco house, which is generally done by manual labour, unless the distance and quantity requires the assistance of a cart. If this part of the process were managed with horses carrying frames upon their back for the convenience of stowage, in a way similar to that in which grain is conveyed in Spain, it would be found a considerable saving of labour.

It becomes necessary, in the next place, to see that suitable ladders and stages are provided, and that there be a sufficient quantity of tobacco sticks, such as have been described heretofore, to answer the full demand of the tobacco house, whatsoever may be its size; time will be otherwise lost in *makeshifts*, or sending for a second supply.

Of Hanging the Crop.

When every thing is thus brought to a point at the tobacco house, the next stage of the process is that termed *hanging* the tobacco. This is done by hanging the plants in rows upon the tobacco sticks with the points down, letting them rest upon the stick by the stem of the lowest leaf, or by the split which is made in the stem when that happens to be divided. In this operation care must be taken to allow a sufficient space between each of the successive plants for the due circulation of air between: perhaps four or five inches apart, in proportion to the bulk of the plant.

When they are thus threaded upon the sticks (either in the tobacco houses, or, sometimes, suspended upon a temporary scaffold near the door, they must be carefully handed up by the means of ladders and planks to answer as stages or platforms, first to the upper tier or collar beams of the house, where the sticks are to be placed with their points resting upon the beams transversely, and the plants hanging down between them.

This process must be repeated tier after tier of the beams, downwards, until the house is
D 2 filled;

filled; taking care to hang the sticks as close to each other as the consideration of admitting air will allow, and without crowding. In this position the plants remain until they are in condition to be taken down for the next process.

Of Smoking the Crop.

From what has been said under the head of hanging the plant, it will be perceived that the air is the principal agent in curing it; but it must be also considered that a want of uniform temperature in the atmosphere calls for the constant care of the crop-master, who generally indeed becomes habitually weather-wise, from the sowing of his plants, until the delivery of his crop to the inspector.

To regulate this effect upon the plants he must take care to be often among them, and when too much moisture is discovered, it is tempered by the help of smoke, which is generated by means of small smothered fires made of old bark, and of rotten wood, kindled about upon various parts of the floor where they may seem to be most needed. In this operation it is necessary that a careful hand should be always near: for the fires must not be permitted to blaze, and burn furiously; which might not
only

only endanger the house, but which, by occasioning a sudden over-heat while the leaf is in a moist condition, might add to the *malady of firing* which we have described in the field.

Of bringing the Tobacco in Case.

Case is a technical term made use of by the planters to signify a specific condition of the plants, which can only be judged of safely by long experience. It is at this stage (that is, in a condition which will bear handling and stripping, without either being so dry as to break and crumble, or so damp as to endanger a future rotting of the leaf) that it is for the first time said to be in case, and ready for farther process. This condition can only be distinguished by diligent attention, and frequent handling; for it often changes this quality with the change of the weather in a very short space of time. Those who have indeed a skill in this phenomenon have little occasion for a barometer. The method of trying it corresponds with that by which the *quality* of the commodity is examined: it must be stretched gently over the ends of the fingers and knuckles, and if it is in good *case*, i. e. *plight*, or *condition*, it will discover an elastic capacity, stretching

like leather, glowing with a kind of moist gloss, pearled with a kind of gummy powder; yet neither dry enough to break, nor sweaty enough to ferment.

Of Stripping and Bundling.

When the plants of tobacco which are thus hanging upon the sticks in the house have gone through the several stages of process herein before described, and are deemed to be in *case* for the next operation, a rainy day (which is the most suitable) is an opportunity which is generally taken advantage of when the hands cannot be so well employed out of doors. The sticks, containing the tobacco which may be sufficiently cured, are then taken down and drawn out of the plants. These are then taken one by one respectively, and the leaves being stripped from the stalk of the plant, are rolled round the butts or thick ends of the leaf, with one of the smallest leaves as a bandage, and thus made up into little bundles fit for laying into the cask for final packing.

Of Stowing in Bulk, and of putting farther in Case.

When the small bundles are thus made up, they are generally stowed in bulk upon pieces of timber forming a kind of platform upon the ground, having their points all laid the same way. In this condition they go through a sweat; and therefore care should be taken to examine them frequently, that this operation of nature may be assisted by such regulations in respect to air, heat, cold, &c. as circumstances and experience may dictate. When the ferment in this course of purgation shall have so far subsided as to promise a state of permanency in the juices, so that the leaf will bear an elastic kind of extension upon the fingers, similar to what has been heretofore explained, without being so dry as to crumble or break in the act of handling, and at the same time so clear of the sweat as to obviate any doubt in respect to the risque of moulding, or rotting *even upon a passage across the Atlantic ocean*, which is the point to which the planter should always direct his calculations (because it is of *that condition* that the public inspectors will exercise their judgment), it is considered to be *in case*, and fit for further handling.

Of Stemming Tobacco.

Stemming tobacco is the act of separating the largest stems or fibres from the web of the leaf with adroitness and facility, so that the plant may be nevertheless capable of package, and fit for a foreign market. It is practised in cases where the malady termed the fire, or other casual misfortune during the growth of the plant, may have rendered it doubtful in the opinion of the planter whether something or other which he may have observed during the growth of his crop, or in the unfavourable temperature of the seasons by which it hath been matured, does not hazard too much in packing the web with a stem which threatens to decay. To avoid the same species of risk, stemming is also practised in cases where the season when it becomes necessary to finish packing for a market is too unfavourable to put up the plant in leaf in the usual method; or when the crop may be partially *out of case*. Hence it is that the inspectors mark in the margin of the tobacco note (which is a certificate whereby crops are bought and sold without ever seeing them) the approximate proportion of the hogshead which is of this quality:

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quality: for it often happens that only one third, one fourth, half, one fifth, five eighths, &c. may be stemmed tobacco, and the remainder of the hoghead be packed in leaf according to the ordinary custom.

Besides the operation of stemming in the hands of the crop-master, there are instances where this partial process is repeated in the public warehouses; of which I shall treat under a subsequent head.

The operation is performed by taking the leaf in one hand, and the end of the stem in the other, in such a way as to cleave it *with the grain*; and there is an expertness to be acquired by practice, which renders it as easy as to separate the bark of a willow, although those unaccustomed to it find it difficult to stem a single plant.

When the web is thus separated from the stem, it is made up into bundles in the same way as in the leaf, and is laid in bulk for farther process. The stems have been generally thrown away, or burnt with refused tobacco for the purpose of soap ashes; but the introduction of snuff-mills has, within a few years back, found a more economical use for them.

Of Case and Bulk, preparatory to Prizing.

It will be easily discovered from what has been hitherto particularized, that an instability of the season or variable weather may occasion a crop under process of curing to be often in case and bulk, and to be frequently shifted and examined during that part of the process in which these changes are expected to happen; for it avails a poor labourer (to use another Irishism) *less than nothing at all*, if, when he has laboured hard in the culture of this commodity, he should blunder in this one point only, then wanted to complete a marketable staple, and become thus involved in a total loss of his whole crop, and have the expences to pay into the bargain, for bringing an unmerchantable article to market, through a dreary journey, seldom less than a hundred miles. So strictly, however, has the spirit of the tobacco laws, the prosperity of the trade, and the policy of supporting the national faith in negotiating this kind of merchandize, hinged upon this ultimate point of a planter's skill, that it behoves a crop-master, most particularly at this juncture, to be vigilant; and so fully are young practitioners now-a-days convinced of
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of it, that I believe few like to exercise their opinion without a consultation with age and experience.

Of Prizing, and its Appendages.

Prizing, in the sense in which it is to be taken here, is, perhaps, a local word, which the Virginians may claim the credit of creating, or at least of adopting: it is at best technical; and must be defined to be the act of pressing or squeezing the article which is to be packed into any package, by means of certain levers, screws, or other mechanical powers; so that the size of the article may be reduced in stowage, and the air so expressed as to render it less pregnable by outward accident, or exterior injury, than it would be in its natural condition.

The operation of prizing, however, requires the combination of judgment and experience; for the commodity may otherwise become bruised by the mechanic action, and this will have an effect similar to that of prizing in too *high* case, which signifies that degree of moisture which produces all the risks of fermentation, and subjects the plant to be shattered into rags.

Of

Of the Apparatus for Prizing.

The ordinary apparatus for prizing consists of the prize beam, the platform, the blocks, and the cover.

The prize beam is a lever formed of a young tree or sapling, of about ten inches diameter at the butt or thicker end, and about twenty or twenty-five feet in length; but in crops where many hands are employed, and a sufficient force always near for the occasional assistance of managing a more weighty leverage, this beam is often made of a larger tree, hewn on two of its sides to about six inches thick, and of the natural width, averaging twelve or fourteen inches. The thick end of this beam is so squared as to form a tenon, which is fitted into a mortise that is dug through some growing tree, or other of those which generally abound convenient to the tobacco house, something more than five feet above the platform.

Close to the root of this tree, and immediately under the most powerful point of the lever, a platform or floor of plank is constructed for the hoghead to stand upon during the operation of prizing. This must be laid upon a solid foundation, levelled, upon hewn pieces
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of wood as sleepers; and so grooved and perforated that any wet or rain which may happen to fall upon the platform may run off without injuring the tobacco. Blocks of wood are prepared about two feet in length, and about three or four inches in diameter, with a few blocks of greater dimensions, for the purpose of raising the beam to a suitable purchase; and a moveable roof, constructed of clap-boards nailed upon pairs of light rafters, of sufficient size to shelter the platform and hoghead, is made ready to place astride of the beam, as a saddle is put upon a horse's back, in order to secure the tobacco from the weather while it is subjected to this tedious part of the process. That part of the apparatus which is designed to manage and give power to the lever is variously constructed: in some instances two beams of timber about six feet long, and squared to four by six inches, are prepared; through these, by means of an auger hole, a sapling of hickory or other tough wood, is respectively passed; and the root thereof being formed like the head of a pin to prevent its slipping through the hole, the sapling is bent like a bow, and the other end is passed through the same piece of wood in a reversed direction, in which position it is wedged. These two bows are in this manner hung by the sapling loops
4 upon

upon the end of the prize beam or lever; and loose planks or slabs of about five or six feet long being laid upon these suspended pieces of timber, a kind of hanging floor or platform is constructed, upon which weights are designed to act as in a scale. A pile of large stones are then carted to the place, and a sufficient number of these are occasionally placed upon this hanging platform, until the lever has obtained precisely the power which the crop master wishes to give to it by this regulating medium.

When it is intended to raise the beam of this kind of prize, so as to be able to take out the blocks, or put more into the hoghead, it is done by tumbling the stones off the platform, and raising the loose end of the beam by means of two forked saplings, of sufficient length, which are placed under the beam on each side of it; and the end of the beam being lodged in the respective forks or crotchets of these props, they are raised until they reach the desired angle at which it is designed to rest the beam.

Another method of managing the lever or prize beam is by dovetailing an upright hewn piece of wood into a stock of timber, laid transversely at its foot in the form of the letter T reversed; and this stock of timber being of a convenient length, and two or three feet

through, forms thus, of itself, a sufficient weight for the necessary leverage. In order to apply this purchase, the prize beam is mortised and the upright piece is put through the mortise. Successive holes being bored crosswise through the upright, two iron pins are passed through these holes, and by means of a forked lever applied under the lower pin through a twisted grape vine, a rope, chain, or other bandage, which passes over the end of the prize beam; this beam or lever is brought nearer to the stock of timber by successive removals of the uppermost pin, until it swings the stock of timber off the ground, as a weight to the end of the lever.

The lifting up of the beam is performed by another lever fixed in a fork, and communicating to the prize beam by a twisted grape vine.

Of the Hogshead and its Condition.

The hogshead which is designed to convey the tobacco to market is regulated by law to the standard of four feet six inches*, in length,
if

* The ambition of the planters to excel each other in heavy hogsheads has given rise to a liberty with the legal dimensions of the cask, at which the inspectors have unfortunately

if my recollection is right, but the shape and bilge of the cask generally varies according to the fancy of the cooper, or roughness of his work. It is not necessary that it should be perfectly water-tight, although it is certainly better to have it as much so as possible.

Tobacco, if well packed, and prized duly, will resist the water for a surprising length of time. An instance in strong proof of this occurred at Kingland, upon James's river in Virginia, where tobacco, which had been carried off by the great land floods which happened in 1771, was found in a large raft of drift wood in which it had lodged when the warehouses at Richmond were swept away by the overflowing of the freshes; an inundation which had happened about twenty years before this cask was found. I did not see this tobacco

fortunately winked. This disposition has introduced another evil practice of prizing too high; the consequence is, in both instances, very injurious to this commerce; for an overstraining becomes necessary to bring such irregular casks into their proper births in stowing the cargo; and overprizing produces a fatal *sea-sweat*. I am told at the king's warehouses, that they discover great loss upon the trade to arise from these circumstances, and that the injury which it retorts on the planter himself is of greater extent than he is aware of: it were to be wished in these cases, that the cultivators of tobacco would confine themselves to *legal uniformity*.

myself,

myself, but it has been often mentioned to me by creditable persons, and I have no reason to disbelieve the fact. On the sixth of October, 1782, however, I myself was one of a party who were shipwrecked upon the coast of New Jersey in America, on board the brigantine Maria, captain M^c Aulay, from Richmond in Virginia, and laden with tobacco. Several hogheads which were saved from the wreck were brought round to Stillwills landing upon great Egg harbour; and amongst them some which had lost the headings of the cask, and the hoops and staves were so much shattered by the beating of the surf, that it was not thought worth while to land them, and they were just tumbled out of the lighter upon the beach, and left to remain where the tide constantly flowed over them for several weeks, so that the outside was completely rotten, and they had the appearance of heaps of manure. In this very bad condition I still persisted in trying to save what I supposed might remain entire in the interior of the lump, and at last prevailed so far over the ignorance and prejudice by which I had been ridiculed, as to effect an overhauling and repacking of this damaged commodity, and to save a proportion thereof very far beyond what I myself had expected.

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Some of the heart of this was so highly improved, that I have seldom seen tobacco equal to it for chewing, or for immediate manufacture; and what was repacked was sold to a tobaccoist in Water Street, Philadelphia, at a price so little reduced below the ordinary market, that the man very frankly told me, that if he could have had the whole *drowned* tobacco in a short time after it was saved from the wreck, he would have made no difference in the price, but would rather have preferred it for immediate manufacture, as it would have spared him some little labour in a part of the process. I have thought it interesting to merchants and underwriters to communicate these facts, from whence they may reap some little information perhaps, or be at least induced to make a more minute investigation in similar cases, and consent more reluctantly to sustain a total loss.

I trust these motives will apologize for this digression, while my recollection prompts it.

The material of which it is customary to make tobacco hogsheads is generally the best kind of white oak; but Spanish oak, red oak, &c. are sometimes used, when the usual kind cannot be so readily commanded. The staves ought to be well seasoned, which is not always the

the case; and immediately before the prizing commences it is a good method to take out the interior damp over a blaze of shavings, or some other light fuel. It is a misfortune also, which might be easily remedied by a little attention, that the heading and hoops are too frequently made of green wood, and that on this account the hogthead becomes readily shattered, and its contents exposed to pilfering.

*Of placing the Layers, packing the Hogthead,
and Prizing.*

We now arrive at the most tedious part of the whole process connected with the culture of tobacco, for this is a business which must not be hurried over either hastily or slovenly: time is required to give each layer a proper degree of consistency; and neatness and care in packing the several strata, so as to insure the effects of keeping out the air, and of giving the staple a good appearance when it shall be opened at an ultimate market.

So soon as every thing is prepared in readiness at the prize-beam, the plants (being in proper case) are to be brought forth from the bulk in the tobacco house to the prize-beam, in sufficient quantity to lay a few layers only at each of the respective prizings, so that one

prizing contains but a few inches, according to the condition of the plant, and must be often repeated. This repetition, however, will be easily understood to be an irregular and very uncertain part of the process; for as all tobacco must be in *due case* when it is put into the hoghead, so must the prize-beam retain its depressed position until two distinct ends are attained, to wit, that of giving a compact consistency to the cake or stratum which is *under prize*, and that of bringing the tobacco in case for laying the next layers; over which it will be perceived that the influence and variation of the atmosphere must have considerable dominion.

In placing the layers in the cask, the plants are taken one by one, and are laid (not in the manner of herrings, which they in some measure resemble in shape, but) in parallel lines close to each other across the hoghead, with the points all one way; the next course or layer is reversed with the points in an alternate direction; and the interstices are filled up with smaller plants, laid upon a varied angle, so that, as far as is practicable, an even surface may be preserved with the butts of the bundles outwards. When this process is ended, so as to form a sufficient stratum for that particular prizing,

prizing, the loose pieces which compose the upper heading of the cask are laid upon it; and the blocks which I have before described, being then placed upon each other, two by two, transversely, until they reach near enough up to the prize-beam to receive the power of the leverage upon the uppermost block, the stones are placed upon the platform, as before described; or the power is applied in some similar manner, and suffered to remain in this position until the application of the next stratum is performed according to the rules heretofore explained.

Of the Cooperage.

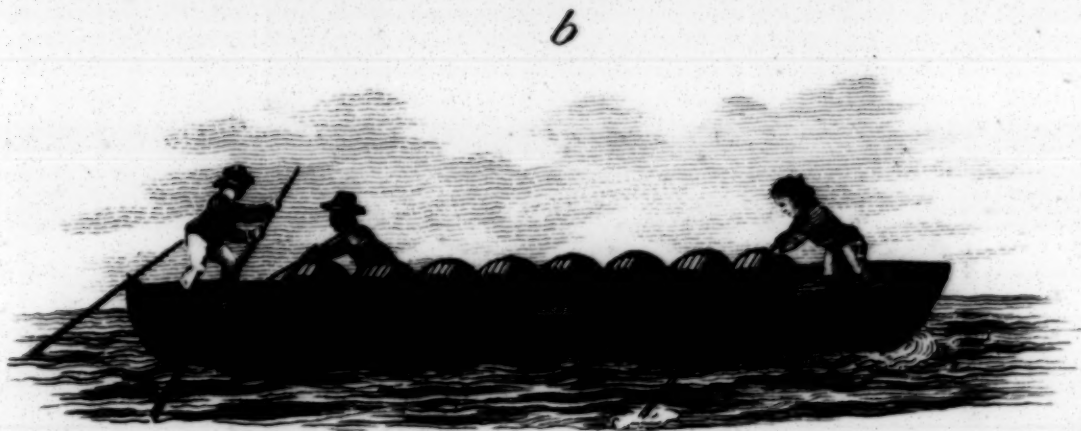
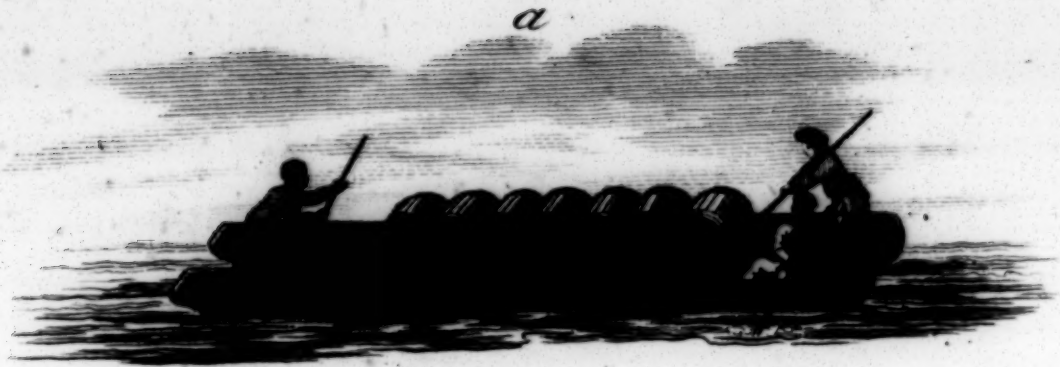
The cooperage, in respect to tobacco hogheads, is not a professional performance, as in other branches of the coopers' trade, but is generally an employment taken up by a cooper or carpenter upon the plantation, of which there are commonly one or two upon each estate of tolerable size, who serve the occasion; or in default of such, by persons of sufficient ingenuity, who are to be found in the respective neighbourhoods where tobacco is cultivated, and who occasionally take up such an employment, rather as a matter of rural accommodation than as a profession.

There are two methods of forming the hoop of tobacco hogheads: one of these resembles the method used in the construction of pales and tubs, called flat hooping; and the other is of the kind used for hooping casks for ordinary occasions, called smart hooping.

The first of these methods is very slight, and serves only for such tobacco as is to be conveyed to market by means of carts or waggon. The second is a more substantial method, and will bear rolling in the mire without injury to the inside. Every man, however, who is concerned in the tobacco trade, should be more or less a cooper himself, for he will often have occasion to put on a hoop, or to repair a stave, particularly on the road to market, where, in some modes of conveyance, this occasion frequently occurs. He will, in any event, find an opportunity to lend his assistance in two distinct operations of cooperage; one of which is while the cask is under prize, and in heading it up for market; and the other in the act of opening and "*turning up*"* when it comes before the inspector in the public warehouses. Where it happens to be necessary to make an allowance for the price of

* *Turning up*, signifies the act of replacing the cask under the prize-beam of the public inspection.

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casks, it is customary to estimate two shillings and six pence for the cask, and seven pence halfpenny for nails, in Virginia money, per hoghead, which is equal to about two shillings and six pence sterling money of Great Britain.

Of the Conveyance to Market.

The conveyance of a crop of tobacco to market, is of five different kinds: 1. By carts and waggons. 2. By rolling in hoops. 3. By rolling in fellies. 4. By canoes. 5. By upland boats.

Conveyance by Carts and Waggons.

This kind of conveyance for tobacco, when it is intended to be carried to market, depends mostly upon the leisure of the planter, and not upon any public establishment; and it is not unusual that a crop lays a considerable time in the barn after it is ready to be taken away, because it is not an easy thing for a planter to be absent from his domestic concerns very often upon a tedious journey. When the season and circumstances permit his absence, and his horses can be spared, and are put in condition to encounter a long and rugged road (which formerly was in few instances less than one

hundred miles from the inspection, but which is now somewhat reduced by increasing the number of interior inspections), it is usual for several planters in the same neighbourhood to associate together, and join their force of horses, &c. according to their proportions of tobacco to be conveyed to market, each waggon taking two hogheads. Thus the party set out upon their annual, or, perhaps, biennial, expedition, taking with them their provisions, liquors, and provender for their cattle; and encamping constantly in the woods until their return, by the side of a good *rousing* fire, which is kindled without ceremony upon any man's land, and with any man's fuel, without inhospitable objections from the proprietor. Those who are in more affluent circumstances, and who have occasion to send often to market, generally keep their own waggons in proportion to the extent of their estates; and there are also waggons to be hired, all of them of the same kind, with narrow wheels, carrying each two hogheads; and all pursuing the same methods for their accommodation. On their return, each one makes it his business to provide for his family, and for such neighbours as he can conveniently serve, by the conveyance of merchandize as part of their *back loads*, or
returning

returning freight. Such as are not taken up in this way, are generally occupied by merchants of the interior country, for the supply of their inland stores; and the heavy articles of salt and iron make a material part of this employment. The rates of waggonage (whereof two thousand pounds weight are usually called a load, though some waggons will carry three thousand pounds) are as follow; viz. for one hundred pounds weight, the distance of one hundred miles, the sum of four shillings Virginia money; equal to three shilling sterling*.

For one hoghead of tobacco, the distance of one hundred miles, the sum of two pounds Virginia money; equal to one pound ten shillings sterling.

For such a waggon by the day, every thing being furnished by the waggoner, the sum of twenty shillings Virginia money; equal to fifteen shillings sterling.

For such a waggon by the day, provisions and provender being furnished by the employer, the sum of twelve shillings Virginia money;

* These rates are in a general way about one third dearer than they were before the American war; and they at all times vary with the price of provender.

equal

equal to nine shillings sterling money of Great Britain.

Carts are of course half the rates of waggons.

Conveyance by rolling in Hoops.

I believe rolling tobacco the distance of many hundred miles, is a mode of conveyance peculiar to Virginia; and for which the early population of that country deserves a very handsome credit. Necessity (that very prolific mother of invention) first suggested the idea of rolling *by hand*; time and experience have led to the introduction of *horses*, and have ripened human skill, in this kind of carriage, to a degree of perfection which merits *the adoption of the mother country*, but which will be better explained under the next head of this subject. The hogheads, which are designed to be rolled in common hoops, are made closer in the joints than if they were intended for the waggon; and are plentifully hooped with strong hickory hoops (which is the toughest kind of wood) with the bark upon them, which remains for some distance a protection against the stones. Two hickory saplings are affixed to the hoghead, for shafts, by boring an auger-hole through them to receive the gudgeons or pivots,

pivots, in the manner of a field rolling-stone : and these receive pins of wood, with square tapered points, which are admitted through square mortises made central in the heading, and driven a considerable depth into the solid tobacco. Upon the hind part of these shafts, between the horses and the hoghead, a few light planks are nailed, and a kind of little cart body is constructed of a sufficient size to contain a bag or two of provender, and provision, together with an axe, and such other tools as may be needed upon the road, in case of accident. In this manner they set out to the inspection in companies, very often joining society with the waggons, and always pursuing the same method of encamping. This mode of sleeping in the woods upon such a journey ; the red clay lands through which most of the tobacco rollers pass ; the continual and unavoidable exposure to dews, muddy roads or dusty ones ; and the distances which they travel, contribute to add to their long beards a very savage appearance ; and the natural consequence of this mode of living produces rough rustic amusements, and similar dispositions. They have hence become an object of apprehension to strangers, and a terror to the English traveller, whom habit has rendered too often

often wont to view every other country with the eyes of his own ; and who expects to find in all men those gradations of humble distance to which he may happen to have been accustomed. To those, in particular, who approach this (or any other) class of Americans, with an air of self-important consequence, they are readily disposed to shew the worst side ; and very often, under the mask of ignorance, play such men many an unlucky prank, and bid them a more unpleasant welcome than even the story of the inhospitable *Scotchman* exhibits in the recent travels of an *Irish* gentleman through that well known place, the northern neck of Virginia. Let a man in a *sulky*, however, (of which they are not over fond, perhaps only from his haughty appearance) only put off his offensive attitude of *incubation*, and accost them like fellow mortals of the same species, and they will be the first to do him a real service. The fact is, that men of great respectability, and plentiful hospitality when at home, think it no disgrace to fall forth upon the concerns of their crop ; and in this case they accommodate themselves to manners which bid defiance to difficulty, and answer their ends.

Conveyance

Conveyance by rolling in Fellies.

Rolling in *fellies* is an improvement resulting from experience in the former method of rolling in *hoops*, which in long journies are found to shatter (especially upon stony roads), and very often to damage the contents, or occasion delays for a too frequent refitting of the hoghead. Experience has suggested this, and practice in the expedient has rendered the invention of *fellies* more perfect. They consist of pieces of wood formed into segments of a circle in the manner of cart wheels; and these, instead of being formed into the rim of a wheel supported by spokes fixed into a nave, are fixed round the circumference of the tobacco hoghead by means of auger holes and wooden pins driven into the bulk of tobacco, through the *fellies* and the staves of the hoghead. By this means the stones upon the road are greatly avoided, and the hoghead may be safely conveyed to a very considerable distance. This improvement has suggested another, which is now reduced to practice in the conveyance of grain, and which doubtless might be farther employed (if need be) in the conveyance of fluid substances. Wheat and
other

other small grain is now *rolled* in many places in Virginia, in hogsheds which are compactly formed; well hooped with iron; the fellies well shod with iron wheel tire; and iron pins for the gudgeons or axles. There is in the head of each cask a small door or scuttle for receiving and delivering the grain; and I can see no reason why fluids may not be as easily received, conveyed, and delivered, by the help of a cock.

This is certainly a cheap and easy-going vehicle; and, when it is considered that the weight of a cart and its contents is thus completely relieved from the back of a horse, and that one horse alone is equal to a considerable burden, I should suppose it worthy an experiment in many English employments.

Conveyance by Canoes.

The originality of this mode of conveyance seems to be also ascribable to the fertile imagination of a people, upon whom the self-sufficiency of *doing nothing wrong*, has aspersed the foul imputation of *doing nothing right*.

The people in the mountains far up James's river perceived, many years ago, that the river afforded them the means of conveying tobacco

tobacco without the trouble and expence of horses; and that there were seasons of the year when (having little to do) this might not only be rendered a source of clear gain, but one which afforded them scenes of mirth and amusement.

There were, however, some difficulties to be overcome in this instance. The mountains were not the residence of ship carpenters to instruct them; and, perhaps, few, if any, of those who thought of this new expedient had either seen a boat or the plan of one. They contrived amongst them nevertheless to build two large canoes, each formed out of a solid piece of fifty or sixty feet in length, and perhaps an inch to the foot of length in the breadth of them. Two of these canoes were clamped together by means of cross-beams and pins; and two pieces being again placed lengthwise upon these, their tobacco was rolled on upon this platform from five to ten hogheads, which from three to five men could convey with ease the distance of one hundred and fifty miles to market, without the help of horses. Another advantage resulted from this method in returning home; the canoes admitted of separation; and as they were seldom overburdened with heavy returns, two men could manage each
canoe,

canoe, in coming home against the current, or in shooting up a narrow sluice, in many of the rapids where there was not sufficient water for a boat. This method is however greatly done away by the destruction of timber, and partly by the improvements of canal navigation.

Conveyance by upland Boats.

The capacity of the upper part of James's river for inland navigation, and the impediments which it became necessary to remove, being soon discovered by those who were concerned in canoe navigation, plans were projected for improving the navigation of that part of the river which is situated above the falls; and, after many ineffectual efforts by John Ballendine, Esq. and others, at the October sessions of the Virginia legislature, 1784, an act was passed, whereby fundry persons were incorporated, and constituted a company for that purpose.

By this act a small toll is imposed upon each hoghead of tobacco which shall pass through the canal which connects the upper part of the river above the falls, with tide water, which flows to the foot of the falls, an intermediate space of about seven miles. But this toll is
nothing

nothing in comparifon with the extra waggonage which this portage formerly demanded; and there are now a number of boats (fimilar to thofe upon the grand trunk canal) which carry on this bufinefs professionally.

This employment has very naturally called for legiflative interpoftion in refpect to the identity of trefpaffers, and the refponfibility of boat owners: and the following law was accordingly paffed on the 17th of December, 1791.

“ An Act for regulating the navigation of James’s river, above the falls of the faid river.

“ Be it enacted, that every perfon who fhall be proprietor of any boat or other veffel, which fhall be employed in navigating the waters of James’s river and its branches above the great falls at Richmond, in the transportation of any produce or merchandize whatfoever, either raifed or manufactured within this commonwealth, or imported from any other place without the fame, fhall in the clerk’s office of the county in which the faid proprietor or proprietors fhall then live, enter the number of each boat or veffel fo to be employed; which number, together with the name of the county, and the name of the owner or owners of fuch boat or veffel, fhall be written or painted

on each side of the said vessel, on some conspicuous part thereof, in large and plain letters, not less than four inches in length.

“ If the owner or owners of any boat or vessel, which shall be employed in navigating the waters of the said river, above the falls thereof as aforesaid, shall fail to enter in the clerk's office as aforesaid, the name or names of the owner or owners, the name of the county in which he or they shall reside, and the number of each boat or other vessel as aforesaid; or shall fail to write or paint the name or names of the owner or owners of the said boat or other vessel, in manner above directed, so as to continue plain and legible as long as the said boat or other vessel shall be employed in navigation, he, she, or they, shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every day he, she, or they, shall neglect to comply with the purposes of this act, to be recovered by any person who may sue for the same, by warrant from a magistrate, allowing the said owner or owners one month after the first day of April next, to attend to the requisitions aforesaid.”

Such are the regulations upon this extensive river, where the tobacco trade most prevails. There are similar regulations upon Potomack,
and

and such other rivers as have improved their interior navigation; but it is unnecessary to recite more than this example.

The rate of conveying tobacco by these boats from the town of Lynchburgh to Richmond, the distance of one hundred and sixty-five computed miles, is about thirty shillings * Virginia money, per hogshead; equal to one pound two shillings and six pence sterling.

We have thus far traced the culture of tobacco from the seed, the method of curing the plant, and of bringing the crop to market, where it is doomed to pass through the hands of public examiners of its merchantable quality. In the next Part we shall proceed to the nature of public inspections, and the intermediate process previous to shipping.

* This price by water varies with the state of the river, and demand.

PART III.

OF THE PUBLIC WAREHOUSE AND
INSPECTION.

WE have now gone through the several parts of the process which respect the culture, curing, and bringing to market, of a crop of tobacco. It follows to understand the nature of examining its quality by legal authority, previous to vending it to the merchant; for the former policy of Virginia has taken ample care to guard the most ignorant in this commerce against the possibility of deception; nor is there any other door left open for it than that which is equally unavoidable in common with any other species of forgery; but wherever this crime has been committed for the purpose of vending tobacco fraudulently, I think the punishment has been rigorously inflicted*.

Public warehouses were established under the kingly government of Virginia, for the

* There is said to have been a recent exception; see Appendix.

purposes of receiving and inspecting tobacco, at many places upon the principal rivers, below the great falls thereof; but I believe they were permitted at no place above the falls until after the American revolution, when the great increase of population, and the vast distance which it extended back from the former markets, rendered it necessary to increase the number of inspections, and to distribute their functions and latitude to the relief of the upland people, who began to feel the oppression of their many tedious journies on this account*.

They

* The change which has taken place in respect to the establishment of *upland warehouses* is to be ascribed greatly to the assiduity of David Ross, Esq. to whose zealous perseverance, enterprize, and public spirit, the community have often been indebted. He has been the chief promoter of *well judged amendments*, where the measure was dictated by the natural course and convenience of a thriving commerce, and *his* experiments have flourished. I find proofs in the king's warehouses, however, that fears, which I have often expressed in respect to the result of this precedent, were but too well founded. There is, indeed, a natural propensity in the planter to have a warehouse at his own door; and it is consistent with the province of human vanity, to think well enough of ourselves to become inspectors of our own produce, without seeing to what a limited extent we ought to trust that very selfish thing, called *self*. Popular measures seem to have paid a poor compliment to Mr. Ross's design, to their own penetration, or the true interest of their

They are now extended to the river Ohio, a distance of six hundred miles farther into the country than they existed under the English government. They consist of a number of warehouses, in proportion to the extent of the particular country whose local trade they are designed to accommodate: they are of two kinds, the one open, and the other close built houses. The open houses consist chiefly of a broad roof erected upon wooden posts or brick pillars, forming an area of considerable length, and this form is repeated in lines mostly parallel with each other, until the extent is suffi-

their planting constituents, when they indulged a *laxity of commercial principle* which the founder of *Columbia* never dreamt of introducing. It is true, that all shoulders are not proper ones to wear the head of a David Ross, and that a small part of society are both planters and merchants; yet where the pecuniary motive which induces a planter to overprize his crop, or send an inferior quality and condition to market, prevents him from seeing that *one* such hoghead rotted upon Tower-hill, will reduce the price of *ten* which he may happen to vend afterwards, it should certainly be the business of a wise legislature to observe the defects of jurisprudence, and to provide a proper remedy.

I am sorry to conclude this remark with an apprehension of some growing evils which threaten to sap the commercial pre-eminence of this staple, by transferring the credit of a well governed public inspection, to such a reliance upon the private planter, as would ultimately render inspections useless, and annihilate the Virginia tobacco trade.

cient for the proposed accommodation. The close-built houses are for the purposes of the inspection, and contain a number of rooms under lock and key: as, for instance, the inspector's rooms, the inspecting rooms, the picking rooms, the prizing rooms, the transfer rooms, the repacking rooms, the scale rooms, &c. But in small inspections some of these rooms answer several purposes, and there are, consequently, not so many of them.

The whole of these buildings, with their respective occupations and contents, are at each inspection, respectively, under the command and direction of two respectable officers of the government, called the *Inspectors of Tobacco*.

The premises are generally private property, under a public establishment, subject to the control of the legislature. •

Of all these things we shall learn more under their particular heads.

Of the Office of Inspector.

The office of *Inspector* is a public office constituted by legislative authority, for the purpose of inspecting, and making diligent search, into the quality and condition of every hoghead of tobacco which is designed to be put on ship-board, to the end that no imposition should be practised

practised in vending it to incompetent judges of the commodity; and that the best possible security may be held by the merchants in Europe, against the probability of damage arising at sea, either from the carelessness of the packer, or the too moist condition of the plant.

This office is always to be filled, at each and every inspection warehouse, respectively, by two respectable planters, being skilled in the knowledge of tobacco, who are of good repute and responsibility, and men highly respected in their neighbourhood. It is an office of high trust and importance in trade; and, to the great credit of the institution, it has scarcely produced an instance of corruption.

It is an elective office in the gift of a majority of the members present at the monthly courts of the counties respectively, where any particular tobacco inspection may happen to be situated for the local conveniency of commerce; and it is held during good behaviour, which proves generally an appointment for life. The persons (two of whom for each inspection are elected) are obliged to find ample securities, and to enter into bond for the faithful discharge of the office with which they are intrusted; but there have occurred so few instances of abuse, as to puzzle my recollection to

to remember a case where this legal remedy has been resorted to.

As this is the high office of amenability, as well in regard to the due examination of the merchantable quality of the staple, as the custody and care of every man's crop, which the law has here delivered over into the public possession for the convenience and safety of commerce; so are all other offices of the inspection inferior and subservient to its mandates, which are obeyed with alacrity. And it is assisted by subordinate officers, such as the third inspector, the pickers, the coopers, and warehouse attendants, of whom we shall have occasion to take notice in their proper places.

We shall now proceed to inquire into the several parts of the process which are observed in the public warehouses, from the time the tobacco is received from the planter till it is delivered to be shipped.

Of Opening and Breaking.

The operation of opening and breaking the hoghead of tobacco, is performed in the presence of the inspectors, by their subordinate officers, in the rooms or apartments called the inspecting rooms, in order to afford them an opportunity

opportunity of exercising that judgment which the law requires of them in regard to the merchantable quality of the commodity. It is to be understood that when the tobacco is brought to the warehouse by the planter, it is generally left in the warehouse yard, or rolled from thence under an open shed, as a shelter from the weather, until the inspectors have time to examine it in its turn. It is then brought forward for inspection, and the coopers (which office is generally or always united with that of picker) proceed to open the hoghead by cutting away many of the hoops without mercy, and stripping the hoghead off from the bulk of tobacco, which consists of one hard pressed loaf or cake, averaging generally one thousand pounds weight. One of the pickers or attendants then takes a large wooden wedge or spike, of about five feet in length, and one of the inspectors taking hold of the point thereof, places it against such part of the bulk of tobacco (standing then upon its end) as he chooses to examine. Another of the attendants, with a huge hand-mall, then drives the wedge or spike into the cake or bulk of tobacco till a sufficient cleft is made to raise up a smaller cake. From this cleft the inspectors take out a few bundles (or hands,

hands, as they are termed) of the tobacco; and they repeat this breaking in as many parts of the hoghead as they think proper to take specimens from, for their information concerning the fairness of the package, and condition of the staple.

Of Passing, and of Burning.

When the inspectors have procured specimens of the staple, by means of breaking the hoghead, as described under the last head, it follows to pronounce their judgment; a sentence, indeed, which is of no small importance to the crop-master, the fate of whose whole year's employment is now brought to the test of official opinion; and it rests with two men alone to say (in effect) whether he merits pay for his labour or not.

If the leaf appears to be well cured, and put up in merchantable order and condition, they generally *pass* the tobacco immediately on the spot. If the case is doubtful, they retire to the inspectors' room to deliberate; and if the tobacco plants are either the product of suckers, of indifferent quality, or put up in bad order, they condemn the whole hoghead. In this last case it is burnt; and although it is thus a total loss to the proprietor, and has by custom

custom become a kind of perquisite to the warehouse attendants, yet so surprizingly has this inquisition of traffic been managed, so prudently has the authority been exercised, and so much are mankind to be reconciled to habitual losses, that I scarcely recollect a murmur against the inspectors, although I have lived several years on the premises adjoining to the tobacco kilns, where, perhaps, a thousand hogsheds have been burnt in my presence.

In the case, however, where the tobacco is passed by the inspectors without any diminution, the hogshed is immediately replaced, weighed, entered upon the public books, and a receipt or note given to the proprietor. There are also medium cases between passing and burning, which demand a specific attention. We will treat of these respectively, under the following heads.

Of Turning-up, and Weighing.

Turning-up, is a technical term which signifies the act of replacing the tobacco in the hogshed after it has passed the inquest of inspection; and bestowing upon it, under the prize-beam, a sufficient cooperage to answer the purposes of exportation.

The process of weighing is attached to that
of

of turning-up; and for this joint service and nails there is a small allowance made, which is generally charged upon account current to the merchant, who becomes the purchaser of the crop; and he in his turn states this charge in the account current of the planter.

When the cooperage is finished, the tobacco passes to the scale room through the same hands; and from this official weighing the inspector gives a voucher of *public responsibility*: yet there are said to be instances lately decided, where the legislative wisdom of Virginia has lost sight of the *ancient* maxims of its public faith, and refused a verification of its reputed commercial security*!

How far this variance of principle may comport with the interests of her foreign credit, is a question which this *ancient dominion* has submitted to the solution of time. In such reference she closes the mouth of an individual citizen.

Of the Warehouse Entry, and Tobacco Note.

It has already been sufficiently explained, that the warehouses of inspection are a public establishment. It follows as a consequence

* See Appendix.

that

that their books are to be matter of record ; but I apprehend they cannot be allowed the full and unqualified force of certain other public records, when given in evidence, because they are frequently exposed openly in the office of the inspector, and cannot, upon this account, convey the same pointed conviction to the conscience of a jury that they would do if they were less exposed. They are, however, less exceptionable in point of practice than would generally be conceived, and seem to be held in fair estimation, as a nice equilibrium between the imperfection of system, and the integrity which has preponderated in the public appointments.

The method of book-keeping in these warehouses is necessarily specific, and suited to the occasion : they have the crop book, the transfer book, and some others ; and their forms are in some instances under legal regulations, and ruled in columns.

The crop book is the most important concern : it contains a regular entry, in columns, of every single hoghead of *crop* tobacco *
which

* The general average of *good crop* tobacco is rated at one thousand pounds, but *legally crop* tobacco must at least weigh
nine

which is passed in the warehouse to which it refers, from the beginning to the end of the year; and a single line for each hoghead respectively, when written transversely through these columns, specifies the planter's mark and number, the date when such hoghead was passed and received into the public care, the name of the proprietor, the gross, tare, and nett, weight in pounds, the proportion of *stemmed* tobacco, of which the hoghead is composed, and leaves a broad margin for casual notes, references to the shipment of such hoghead, &c. From this entry a printed formal receipt or note is filled up, signed by the inspectors, and delivered to the proprietor; and it is by this note that all tobaccos are bought and sold, and circulated throughout the continent, in the same manner as bank notes, or current coin: the evidence of a deposit of so much in the public warehouses being there certified officially upon the face of the note, and the current value, or market price, receiving an universal tone from the specific cre-

nine hundred and fifty nett pounds; all under that weight are considered to be *transfer*, or parcels which may be transferred to make full hogheads.

dibility

dibility of the inspection where the deposit is made*.

This note is therefore a sufficient authority in the hands of the holder, to ask, demand, receive, sue for, and recover, the tobacco or its value, which the note specifies to have been deposited; and when the tobacco is taken away from the public warehouse, to be shipped by the merchant, this note is always returned to the inspector as his voucher for the delivery. In some instances, however, the greater crop masters, and those who are standing customers to particular merchants, decline the trouble and risk of taking out tobacco notes, and give a general or special order for the delivery of their crop; which is equally certain, as the inspectors never fail to make an immediate entry of the weights from the scale room.

Of the third Inspector, and of the Pickers.

The third inspector is (in this respect) a supernumerary officer of the inspection warehouse, appointed in the same way as the principal inspectors, in order that there may never

* Choice crops which have obtained a standing reputation, will fetch an extra price.

be a delay or impediment through the death, sickness, or reasonable absence, of one of the principals: and any other negligence of the principals would be a misdemeanour in office, and highly punishable by law. One of the most experienced of the *pickers* is generally appointed to this office, and, in any of the defaults specified above, he steps completely into the shoes of the absentee, clothed with all his authorities, functions, and privileges.

The *pickers* are the first gradation of subordinate officers under the rank of inspector. Their office is also one of trust, and both planters and merchants might find an interest in disrobing it of certain adopted *privileges*, at the expence of some little specific equivalent. It must be confessed to their credit, however (for many of these are persons of property and fair reputation), that more evils arise from the privilege of indulging others than any overt use for their own emolument; and if, in this instance, they fall short of their official obligation, this petty offence claims the same kind of palliation which some ascribe to be the birthright of pious perjuries. The duty of this office (besides that of cooperage, wherein it is continually occupied) respects that medium state of tobacco which is neither in a condition to be passed,

passed, nor to be refused: this sometimes happens from the considerations of its being partly bad, and partly good; or when the whole is good and merchantable, but prized when it was *too high in case*. In either of these instances it is the duty of this officer to pick and separate the good from the bad, and to take away those parts which threaten injury to the whole mass at sea, in order to repack it again in sound and merchantable condition. There are stated rates for this service in a general way, which are charged to the merchant, as heretofore described; but as the whole cask is sometimes so out of order as to need a complete, laborious, and scientific overhauling, these men of experience are more amply, and very justly, rewarded by a specific agreement.

Besides this duty, all the heavy labour and drudgery of the warehouses fall upon this class, who have seldom any other help than a few day labourers, or negro attendants.

Of Picking, and Repacking.

Picking is, simply, the act of separating the bad from the good, according to legal regulations. *Repacking*, is the act of placing and

prizing the tobacco into the hoghead, in the same method which was first observed at the prize-beam of the crop master.

These operations have both of them been, in some measure, explained under the last head: but it yet remains to give strangers some farther light upon this subject. It sometimes happens that the whole cask needs to be overhauled, and put in case, by handling plant after plant, in a way similar to that which was observed in the planter's tobacco house: to this end it is removed from the inspection room to the picking and repacking rooms; and it is sometimes not only thrown into bulk, as it was originally, but is carried a second time through the process of hanging and drying, to which end it will be perceived very extensive apartments, and a slavish attention of the pickers, are required.

Of transfer Tobacco.

Transfer tobacco is that collection in leaf, bundle, or hand, which arises from the aggregate stock of remnants which remain from hogheads that are reduced by wastage and refusal beneath the standard weight of a ship-able,

able, or, what is commonly termed, a *crop*, hoghead *.

It derives the name *transfer* from the practice of transferring from this aggregate stock a sufficient parcel or quantity of this loose tobacco into the hoghead of another person, in order to make up any small deficiency which may render such cask a respectable hoghead, for the purpose of exportation; and for this use it is customary for the merchants to buy up, at an under price, such small or transfer notes as may have been issued into circulation from the inspectors to the planters whose crops or hogheads have fallen short of the legal shippable cask of nine hundred and fifty pounds nett weight. It generally happens, however, that there annually remains a quantity of this kind of tobacco in the public warehouses, over and above what may have been prized into crop hogheads for exportation, and in this case the inspectors make a report, *ex officio*, to the court of their particular county, who, at their monthly sitting for the month of September, pass an order to authorize the inspectors to make public sale of such tobacco for ready

* Lawfully nine hundred and fifty pounds, by custom understood to average one thousand pounds.

money; and the nett produce of such sale, after deducting a per centage for the casual wastage, and a commission of five per centum to the inspectors for management, is divided among the holders of unappropriated transfer notes, or among such other proprietors as may have deposited this kind of staple commodity with the inspectors, on the faith of their book entries.

Of Shipping, and the Manifest.

It has been heretofore observed that tobacco is not hawked about from place to place, and vended from one person to another, by means of an actual exhibition of this bulky article; but that warehouses are erected in convenient places, as public repositories of this staple; and a kind of circulating medium is issued upon this deposit by certain officers of the government, whose good faith and responsibility (keeping pace with that of *Abraham Newland*) render the tobacco warehouses of Virginia the best banks in the state, and a respectable treasury of the American nation. It will now be understood, that this species of circulation adds to the partial uses of a circulating medium a specific branch of traffic, which contributes to facilitate

facilitate the means of acquisition and mutual intercourse with the inhabitants of Europe; and which (God be thanked for the just reward) sticks plentifully to the fingers of a Glasgow merchant.

This is an article which is wont to return profit to the industry of the fair trader; and when he has accumulated a sufficient stock of notes to complete his intended remittance, he transmits them to the inspection from whence they issued, where the inspectors then in office, upon the strength of these obligatory vouchers, proceed to preparing him for shipping his cargo, by searching out for him the identical hogsheds which are specified in the receipts or notes of inspection by him presented. A manifest is then made out, specifying the gross, tare, and nett, of each particular hogshed, in columns, marked and numbered according to the instructions of the merchant, and with the requisite references, which, being certified by the inspectors, is delivered to the merchant or his agent, as an authority to convey on shipboard the several hogsheds which are therein specified, and destined for exportation.

Of Delivery, and Taking-off.

I apprehend the act of delivery from the inspector to the agent of the merchant, to be perfect and complete, and the risk thereupon to be *legally* transferred to the full acquittal of the inspectors, when the several hogheads shall have been told off according to the manifest, and permission given to the labourers to take them away; for there is necessarily a good deal of time expended in this operation before all is completed, and the period is as necessarily self-existent, which transposes the tobacco and its paper representative. I do not recollect that the law has precisely adjusted this point; yet the critical juncture is essential to the spirit of private property, and it behooves us to comprehend the principles upon which it changes.

It is customary in taking off tobacco to send up some of the ablest sailors belonging to the ship, as labourers, in this stage of the commerce; or (which is far preferable) to employ the negro watermen, who are adepts by experience. I have known several instances of middle-sized negroes, who, from an habitual slight, and practical skill, would turn three hogheads of tobacco upon their ends at once, each

each hoghead weighing one thousand pounds nett weight: yet I have seen many an overgrown Englishman strain hard to overcome one hoghead. I am aware that this account (which has probably many vouchers among the Virginia merchants) will be thought fabulous; but a patient inquiry will render it somewhat more credible. The fact is, that there is a philosophical principle in this case which the African race have pretty generally discovered the advantage of; and a rap upon the hoghead with their knuckles (which the knowing European will ascribe, perhaps, to superstition) serves to inform them, by the hollow sound, which end of the cask is heaviest. The negro takes the benefit of the point of gravitation; and by selecting casks of the bulkiest bilge, with the help of a board placed across his breast, he puts the three in motion at once, and assists their inclination of preponderancy with his main strength at the critical juncture. A similar principle should be observed in the handling of many solid bodies. A tree, for example, grows with the heaviest end downwards, and, I apprehend, the difference of gravity would be very perceptible in a squared log of equal dimensions when floating in still water. Those who are accustomed

accustomed to rafting timber, however, know very well the advantage of towing logs with the heavy end of the tree foremost.

There are three distinct methods of *taking-off* tobacco, which are practised in Virginia; and it is generally necessary to combine two of them before the tobacco is completely afloat: these are *by hand*, *by drays*, and *by lightering*.

By Hand.

Taking-off tobacco by hand is one of the ancient methods, for which the Virginians have the credit of some originality; and upon this operation time and practice have afforded useful improvements.

Necessity at first compelled the joint labour, in this instance, of both landsmen and seamen, who united in the application of manual labour to get the tobacco on shipboard. Profit stimulated this exertion till it extended the practice to several miles from the sea port; and this drudgery called forth the help of ropes and screws, which being fixed in the nature of traces, by screwing the pin into the tobacco for an axle, served these two-legged cattle for the application of accumulated force, when exigencies required it; and enabled them to jog

jog on at an accelerated pace upon the ordinary level roads, which the lower countries afforded. By degrees these traces received the improvement of a pair of friction rollers to relieve the rope from the chime of the cask; and this custom it seems continued partially within the memory of some of my acquaintances, though it is probable that it was in a general way abolished with the establishment of public warehouses.

In respect to taking-off, this method still exists in some places: those who are most expert, however, prefer to dispense with this apparatus, and manage the hogheads with such extraordinary flight of hand, that the Virginia negroes treat a hoghead of tobacco with as little ceremony as a coachmaker handles a wheel*. Both these methods seem to be growing out of use, and the population of sea-

* The warehouses at Osbornes, upon James's river, stand upon the bank of the river at the distance of somewhat more than one hundred yards from the water's edge, and a hollow road leads down an angle of about twenty degrees from the warehouse to the wharf. Two negroes manage, at this place, as many hogheads at one and the same time as fills up this intermediate space. It is done by the help of a hand-mall, which is moved by the handle before the first hoghead, which sustains one hundred more, if need be.

port towns is found to demand a more accommodating conveyance.

By Drays.

Drays are but of late years introduced into practice in the southern states of America. The public tobacco warehouses at Richmond, Manchester, and Petersburg, in Virginia, stand some distance from the water's edge, and the custom of taking-off by hand has a long time prevailed. These towns are now growing populous, and the increase of their commerce has called the attention of their police to the relief of the inconveniences arising from rolling hogheads of tobacco through the streets by hand, by the substitution of drays in the English manner; this is not, however, the general practice at all warehouses, for many of them continue their ancient methods.

By Lighters.

Besides the necessity of taking-off tobacco by the two methods herein-before mentioned, in respect to the land carriage, the constant fullage from the plough, and other washings of the upland countries, have impeded the navigation,

vigation, which formerly held a better channel near the falls of the several rivers, but particularly James's river, where the channel is subject to frequent changes, upon which account there is sometimes occasion to use a kind of flat-bottomed lighter or *scow*, which draws but a few inches water, and will take off from ten to twenty hogheads or more, and convey them to vessels in the channel which frequent the river trade, of which notice will be more particularly taken hereafter. These lighters are very convenient for this purpose, being built with flat bottoms, upright sides of about two feet six inches or three feet, and sloped up at each end so as to ride over the waves with less resistance than a square or blunt end would permit. A similar kind of boats are used for the ferries in Virginia; these admit a waggon and team to drive in at one end of them, which is driven out at the other when the boat arrives at the opposite shore; and this method is found capable of considerable accommodation and dispatch.

Of Depredations.

Of all the commercial articles which traverse the ocean, there are none, perhaps, which

which are more subject to wastage by depredations than the commodity we are speaking of. It is continually exposed to pilfering, even from the time it is cut from the field, and through the whole process of curing: and until it is conveyed to market it is indeed subjected to similar injury. But the greater losses are sustained after it is delivered into the public warehouses: it seems proper to speak of these specifically.

Of Depredations privileged by Custom.

I have intimated under the general head that depredations upon tobacco are committed from the moment it is first gathered into the barn; but there are of these some privileged by custom from the instant *curing crops* become fit for use; and the chewing, smoking, and snuffing depredators of the country, find illicit means enough to effect an imperceptible reduction by littles, such as few persons care to notice. As this species of making common property has perhaps some hospitable and benevolent principles attached to it, I shall let it alone, and more especially as the presence of the proprietor may be said in most cases to give a tacit approbation. But when the crop is
once

once delivered into the public warehouses, and an officer of the government is charged with a responsibility for its forthcoming, there can be no *proprietary* presence (in the general nature of the transaction) from whom an assent can be received for the exercise of such privileges as are *malum in se*, and are not a whit the more qualified because custom has led men to practise them in open daylight. It shall be the business of this work to state these facts impartially, to point out the instances of malfeasance which are overlooked; and it rests with those to whom it more appropriately belongs to remedy the evils which may be discovered.

Now it is customary with most planters to weigh the bulk of tobacco with the steelyards, when it is first packed into the hogsheads; and from this weighing they are enabled to give their merchant an approximate assurance of the quantity he may expect from them; for it is generally a custom in the tobacco trade for the merchant to deliver the planter his goods upon account current through the year, and to credit him by the amount of his crop, annually, when it is carried to market. It is here received into the care of a public officer; but
if

if there happens to be a glut of business, so that the turn of inspection is procrastinated, it remains openly in the warehouse yard, or, perhaps at most, only rolled under an open shelter, until the inspectors can find leisure to attend to it. During this period it is exposed to the first stage of *public privilege*; for every man thinks himself privileged to take a handful as he passes, for the purpose of chewing or smoking, *according to established custom*, dreaming little perhaps that the example is so often repeated as to deceive the merchant's expectations very perceptibly; for as the hogsheads are pretty generally shattered in bringing to market, there is no want of sufficient apertures through broken staves and deficient heading, which afford an easy admission to the too greedy hand of the privileged plunderer of a produce for which others have paid the sweat of their brow.

Such is the state of depredation during the intermediate stage which occurs between the delivery of the crop and the act of inspection. But it is after this operation, and during its process, that the great harvest of customary plunder commences.

The attendants upon the warehouse operations,

tions, and their illicit receivers, are the most benefited of all men, by a practice which has become a kind of calculable privilege through its frequent indulgence; though all who pass are admitted partakers, in a certain degree, without much ceremony. The first, however, have grown into a kind of formidable profession, who are not only in the open habit of vending other people's tobacco, *by privilege*, in twists and rolls for home consumption, but are the principal merchants who supply sailors and small adventurers for exportation. Nay, I believe, it would not be hard to prove, that negro attendants at the Richmond warehouses have been honoured with applications from England for the choicest chewing tobacco; that this privilege has in other instances extended itself to casks; and I should not think it an exaggerated estimate upon the aggregate of this commerce, to calculate its losses by privilege at many thousand pounds of tobacco per annum.

The rejected tobacco has been heretofore another privileged source of considerable depredation; and I presume the items of snuff and soap ashes have yielded respectable profits. I understand that late laws have abated the rigour of this inquisitorial penalty, and that a planter is now clearly permitted to take away

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and

and make the best of an inferior commodity. If not, it would certainly be an equitable amendment to let the rejecting inspectors assign the inferior degree of use for which the plant might be suitable, to the profit of him alone whose industry was applied in cultivating, and bringing it to an unfortunate market.

Of successive Depredations by casual Exposure.

Hitherto I have noticed only those depredations which are considered under the idea of privileges, and sanctioned in some degree by the tacit assent of the crowd who may be looking on. It remains yet to notice various depredations by petty thefts, which cannot be considered to be much less injurious to proprietors.

The practice of roguish planters stealing from other men's tobacco houses, has been in several instances detected, prosecuted, and punished, as the judicial records of the country testify; and as the laws on this head have made ample provision to punish the offence, there seems to be no other remedy than examples of moral rectitude, and vigilance, to see them duly enforced. Hogsheds of tobacco which are sometimes left exposed on their way to
to

to market, which may be occasioned by the breaking down of waggons, the tiring of horses, or the lowness of water conveyance during drougthy seasons, are casualties which cannot be so well guarded against; and I believe cases have happened in this instance, where the hogthead has been stolen with impunity. To this species of depredation, however, as well as that committed by privilege, we find tobaccos most of all exposed in the public warehouses, and in taking off with defective headings and staves, for it is such opportunities as these which are most likely to shelter villains from detection, and particularly in the dark deeds of the night. It is from these thefts that the peddling commerce of the country and the adventures of seamen are often augmented; and the remedies merit consideration among those who are injured.

Of the Crop Master, Overseer, and Hands; and of their respective Shares, Functions, and Privileges.

The propensity which the people of England seem to have, too generally, to impute the odium of a slave trade upon the inhabitants of a country on whom their own thirst after foreign lucre has bestowed the hated evil, induces

me to notice *this worst condition of its existence* in any part of the American continent which lies northward of the indigo culture: though I confess myself at present to be imperfectly prepared to write upon a subject which is now accidentally taken up, after several years absence from the scene of action, and on which account my memory feels considerably weakened. I will, nevertheless, attempt a concise statement of what occurs, leaving my deficiencies to the amendment of those who may be more immediately acquainted with the system of apportioning American crops, or who may find leisure and inclination to investigate such a topic to enrich the annals of agriculture.

The *crop master* is generally the proprietor of the land which he cultivates, and always he is understood to be the tenant in possession: more technically, he is the master of the estate, who generally understands the whole process of the culture, and gives instructions concerning the various operations, though perhaps he does not attend personally to their execution: he furnishes all the necessary provisions, utensils, and apparatus; is lord of the soil, and receives a proportionate profit of its productions in kind, whether he tills the ground with his own negroes,

groes, with hireling labourers, or with independent cultivators, termed *croppers*. In any of these events, when the crop is gathered, he receives his proportion of it in shares according to *custom of the country*. An idea of this customary arrangement may be conceived by strangers from the following example, which prevails in some places, but varies in others: If A (for instance) furnishes the land, and finds every thing necessary to its cultivation, and B undertakes the labour of the culture, A will share two parts, and B will share one. If, on the contrary, A finds the land only, and B furnishes the labour and necessaries of cultivation, A will share one third part, and B will take two. It follows from these proportions, that the rent of the land is valued at one third of the whole produce; the furnishing of the provision and materials at one other third; and that the other one third part is to compensate for the manual labour bestowed. Now it is this labour which is divided among the labourers who perform it: as, for instance, a hand of medium capacity will perform one share of the aggregate labour; a hand of extraordinary capacity will perhaps perform a share and a quarter, or a share and a half of such labour; a woman will perform three quarters of a share;

a boy half a share, &c. And in this way the shares are ultimately settled in, what is termed, dividing the crop.

The *overseer* is a kind of subordinate steward (for upon large estates there is a steward who intervenes between the master and many overseers), who oversees and superintends the management of the crop, and is much, or altogether, with the hands during the hours of labour, which continue from daylight until the dusk of the evening, and some part of the night, by moon or candlelight, during the winter. Overseers are generally white men of some experience and respectability; and there are some of the profession of high characters and good interest. There are, nevertheless, negroes upon many estates who rise by their merit to this degree of promotion; and there are generally upon large estates very trustworthy *foremen* among the negroes, who officiate in their overseer's absence, and save him much trouble by their management. It is remarkable, however, that black overseers are more severe task-masters than the white ones, and are more dreaded by their fellow-slaves. The employment of an overseer never ceases, from the seed to the harvest: he must be always and every where present (as it were), and
6 should

should know every thing which passes till he has taken his crop to market. He is the responsible person for all transactions upon the estate, and his interest is generally interwoven in one common web with that of his employer, and of the labourers, to be ultimately divided into shares; but there are, nevertheless, some exceptions where masters give their overseers a standing salary in lieu of their shares. An overseer partakes, in the ordinary case, of every species of crop which is cultivated, according to the rate of his agreement, which will perhaps extend to a share and a half, two, three, or more shares, according to his reputation, experience, and merit. And this compensation is seldom separated from the joint stock, but more generally fold in the aggregate, and accounted for by the employer upon settlement; yet this is a point which is optional with the overseer. In many cases the overseer is allowed to keep a horse or two of his own, a few hogs, cattle, &c. and these seldom shame their keeper, as they range at large upon free cost.

The *hands* are most generally slaves belonging to the estate; and these in some instances are attached to it, and descend with the land to the next heir: in others they are considered

personal property, according to the nature of the case, and the local regulations of the particular legislation; for each state in the union retains its distinct and separate *sovereign* rights, and the boasted supremacy which an Englishman is wont to ascribe to Congress is more qualified than it is generally conceived to be. The sons, however, of many planters work in the crop equally with the negroes, nor is there any material practical distinction observed between them. There are also white hirelings who cultivate tobacco, especially upon the footing of *croppers*, but these are more generally found among the Irish and German planters, than among the Virginians, and their fare is in common with the family. Confining the idea of *hands* to negroes who compose the majority, their master is compensated for their labours in the crop, by an allowance of their proportionate shares. In return for this he generally furnishes them with coarse clothing; a negro quarter residence, or a private house of their own, if they choose to build one out of his materials; as much land as they think proper to cultivate at leisure hours, rent free; a regular allowance of corn and salt provisions, or salted fish; the privilege of cultivating cotton, melons, potatoes, vegetables, flax, hops, fruits,

fruits, &c.; of rearing as many ducks, geese, dunghill fowls, and turkies, as they can manage: in some instances this indulgence is extended to a small stock of swine; and I have known many slaves who kept their own horses, and lived comfortably and respectably upon the surplus of their time.

It is true, indeed, that the policy of the law has invested the master with an absolute authority to tyrannize; but this is rarely exercised, and especially since the American revolution. There are, however, some whose avarice is found to stimulate them to acts of severity and penury, but such are justly abhorred, and the perpetrators of those cowardly cruelties are seldom without the penalty of their demerit, in the conspicuous contempt of their neighbours. When it is considered, indeed, from how many social cares and duties negro slavery is exempted; that the master is obliged to provide for them in all events; that prudence often elevates their circumstances above the industrious labourer of Europe; that the mitigated condition of their present shackles, renders the name of the thing more horrible than the restraint, it may (though not to be voluntarily sought after) be a more enviable situation,

situation, in the eye of sound philosophy, than the pompous bondage of the pageant great. At any rate, I have known negroes who have reasoned against emancipation; and have been credibly informed of others who have petitioned to return to their former slavery! Happily for myself, I neither am, nor ever shall be, a slave-holder,

Of various Methods of cultivating Tobacco in America, according to the Practice of former Times, which have occurred since the Commencement of this Work.

THE Reverend Mr. Hugh Jones, Minister of James's town in Virginia, who has written a short and faithful account of that country, published in London in 1724, gives us the following particulars with regard to the culture of this article.

“ When a tract of land is seated *,” says he, “ they clear it by felling the trees about a yard from the ground, lest they should shoot again. What wood they have occasion for they carry off, and burn the rest, or let it lie and rot upon the ground.

“ The land between the logs and stumps they *hoe* up, planting tobacco there in the spring, enclosing it with a slight fence of cleft rails. This will last for tobacco some years if the land be good, as it is where fine timber or grape vines grow.

“ Land, when hired, is forced to bear tobacco by penning their cattle upon it; but cow-

* H. Jones's Present State of Virginia, p. 39, printed in London, 1724.

penned tobacco tastes strong, and that planted in wet marshy land is called *non-burning tobacco*, which smokes in the pipe like leather, unless it be of a good age.

“ When land is tired of tobacco it will bear Indian corn or English wheat, or any other European grain or seed, with wonderful increase.

“ Tobacco and Indian corn are planted in hills, as hops, and secured by *worm fences*, which are made of rails supporting one another very firmly in a particular manner.

“ Tobacco requires a great deal of skill and trouble in the right management of it. They raise the plants in beds, as we do cabbage plants, which they *transplant* and *replant* upon occasion after a shower of rain, which they call a *season*. When it is grown up they top it, or nip off the head, succour it, or cut off the ground leaves, weed it, hill it, and, when ripe, they cut it down about six or eight leaves on a stalk, which they carry into airy tobacco houses; after it is withered a little in the sun, there it is hung to dry on sticks, as paper at the paper mills; when it is in proper case (as they call it) and the air neither too moist, nor too dry, they *strike it*, or take it down, then cover it up in *bulk*, or a great heap, where it lies

lies till they have leifure or occafion to *ftem* it (that is, pull the leaves from the ftalk), or *ftrip* it* (that is, to take out the great fibres), and tie it up in *hands*, or *ftraight lay it*, and fo by degrees prize or prefs it with proper engines into great hogfheads, containing from about fix to eleven hundred pounds; four of which hogfheads make a tun, by dimenfions, not by weight; then it is ready for fale or fhipping.

“ There are two forts of tobacco, viz. *Oroonoko*, the ftronger, and *sweet-scented*, the milder; the firft with a fharper leaf like a fox’s ear, and the other rounder and with finer fibres: but each of thefe are varied into feveral forts, much as apples and pears are; and I have been informed by the Indian traders, that the inland Indians have forts of tobacco much differing from any planted or ufed by the Europeans.”

A gentleman of Holland, in a private treatife, which he has lately written in the German language, for the inftruction of professional tobacconifts, has fpoken of a method of culture in Virginia, which is unknown to me,

* The terms, *ftem*, and *ftrip*, are here tranfpofed; probably by an oversight of the firft printer.

but which may have been practised, perhaps, by the Dutch adventurers to that country, whose goods were secured to them by the fourteenth article of the treaty of surrender to the Commonwealth of England, executed at James's city in Virginia, on the 12th day of March, 1751. And as the method described may probably afford some agricultural lights worth notice, I have been at some pains to render it correctly into English by the help of a gentleman skilled in the original tongue.

“In spring,” says he, “*red* seed, in preference to the white, is put into a clean pot; milk or stale beer is poured upon it, and it is left for two or three days in this state; it is then mixed with a quantity of fine fat earth, and set aside in a hot chamber, till the seeds begin to put out shoots. They are then sown in a hot-bed. When the young plants have grown to a finger's length, they are taken up between the fifteenth and twenty-second of May, and planted in ground that has been previously well manured with the dung of doves or swine. They are placed at square distances of one and a half foot from one another. In dry weather, they are now to be watered with lukewarm water softly showered upon them, between sunset and twilight.

“When

“ When these plants are full two feet high, the tops of the stems are broken off, to make the leaves grow thicker and broader. Here and there are left a few plants, without having their tops broken off, in order that they may afford seeds for another year. Throughout the summer the other plants are, from time to time, pruned at the top; and the whole field is carefully weeded, to make the growth of the leaf so much the more vigorous.

“ In the month of September, from the eighth to the sixteenth day, and between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon, the best leaves are to be taken off. It is more advantageous to pluck the leaves when they are dry than when they are moist. When plucked they are to be immediately brought home, and hung upon cords within the house, to dry, in as full exposure as is possible, to the influence of the sun and air; but so as to receive no rain. In this exposure they remain till the months of March and April following; when they are to be put up in bundles, and conveyed to the store-house, in which they may be kept, that they may be there still more perfectly dried by a moderate heat.

“ Within eight days they must be removed
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to a different place, where they are to be sparingly sprinkled with salt water, and left till the leaves shall be no longer warm to the feeling of the hand. A barrel of water with six handfuls of salt are the proportions. After all this the tobacco leaves may be laid aside for commercial exportation. They will remain fresh for three years."

So far for the method related by the gentleman from Holland. I find some farther particulars concerning the early methods of cultivating and managing this plant, related in the very scarce and interesting voyages of Peere Le Bat, written in the French language, which I have caused to be translated; but as it would mutilate his account of the subject, if I were to separate the particulars of the culture from the rest, I prefer to give a fuller statement in a separate part of this work, to which I must beg leave to refer the reader; and I have hopes that the obstinacy of habitual practice, and the trodden paths of our ancestors, will prove no obstacle to those experiments, and comparisons, which may be helpful to agricultural knowledge, especially in Virginia, where nature has afforded a wide and bountiful field, if men would but trust themselves a little way beyond the leading-strings of their forefathers.

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I shall add to this a few particulars concerning the methods of culture, and of curing tobacco in Maryland, and in the northern parts of Virginia.

Method of Raising and Curing Tobacco in Maryland, as communicated to the Committee on Agriculture in Boston, 1786. See American Museum, p. 135, 1787.

“ Tobacco is raised and cured, in this state, nearly according to the following process.

“ In March, a bed is prepared in some rich spot on the plantation, by burning a large quantity of brush-wood* upon it, and raking the surface fine. About the first of May the seeds are sown in it broad cast, and generally mixed with ashes, in order to disperse them more equally. The young plants are cleansed of weeds in the same manner as seedling onions or cabbage plants; and, like the latter, are fit to be transplanted when about two inches high.

“ The ground to receive them, when set out or transplanted, is prepared with a narrow hoe, by digging holes of about a foot square, and as

* *Brush-wood*, signifies the loppings of trees, such as in some places in the north of England are called *chatts*.

deep, three feet apart every way, in rows. This is termed *holing*: the earth about the hole, and that which came out of it, is next formed into a hill, over the hole, like cabbage hills, only larger: this is termed *scraping*.

“ The hills being thus prepared, the first succeeding rain which wets the ground sufficiently, the plants are drawn from the beds, and planted in the same manner as cabbages, and are filled up in the same manner by replanting those hills where any fail.

“ When the plants are well fixed, and begin to grow, they must be kept very clean from weeds with broad hoes, which reduce the hills quite down. The next hoeing is to bring up the hills again, round the stalk; and this weeding and hilling succeed each other during the whole growth. The plant must be topped when the flower stalks begin to appear; and this is performed by breaking off the top with the finger and thumb, leaving from six to ten leaves, according to the apparent strength and vigour of the plants.

“ Every week or ten days during this growth, it puts out suckers between the stalk and every leaf. These must be constantly broken off with the fingers as they appear. About
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the first of September, and from that till frost comes, the tobacco ripens, and must be cut. There is some difficulty in describing it in this state, so as to be certainly known: however in general it is known to be ripe by the leaf putting forth yellowish spots, pretty thick over it; and having attained a considerable substance and richness. It is then cut down, near the ground, and let lie till the sun has softened it from its brittle state, and it may be housed without the leaves snapping off. It is then pegged, and hung up in a house in the manner that bacon generally is, only so thick that the plants generally touch each other, and in tiers one above another, from within a yard of the ground floor to the ridge of the house; the peg is drove through the stalk, and the hanging is on sticks about four feet long, laid from beam to beam. It hangs in the house about six or eight weeks, to dry; and in damp weather a gentle fire is made under it to prevent its moulding.

“ Many of the planters give the fine *kite foot* a colour, by curing it altogether with hickory fires under it constantly, until it is dry. When cured, as they term it (or dry), it can only be handled in damp weather, called *seasons*. In such weather it is taken down and stripped;

this is performed by holding the butt-end of the plant in your left hand, and with the right cutting off the first leaves (leaving the smaller, or those of a different quality, which are commonly on the same plant), until you have enough gathered to form a *hand of tobacco* (or bundle); then you lap one leaf round the ends of the stalks, gathered neatly together in the hand, by beginning at the extremity with the little end of the leaf, and turning it round and round, forming a head of about two inches and a half long; then the end of the leaf, with which you have moulded the head, is tucked into the bundle; and the tobacco being stripped and sorted into different qualities, is packed up in bulks, as the planters term them, which is only laying the hands even upon one another (as bricks are piled) to any convenient height; from whence at any other *season* (or damp weather) it is taken and packed in hogheads. This operation is performed in the following way: the packer gets into a hoghead, placed under a prize, fixed in a post like a cider prize, and a person outside hands him the tobacco, which he begins to pack away in the bottom of the cask, with the heads next the staves all round, and then across the cask, until the cask is about one-fourth filled, with
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the weight of the packer sitting on it. Boards, or false heading, are then laid evenly on it, and blocks, one upon another, up to the prize. This quantity will press down to about three inches thick in the bottom, becoming a firm and solid cake.

“ The prizes remain on it, until it is firm, which will take several hours; during which time the planter packs other casks, or goes about other business.

“ These packings and prizings are thus repeated until the hoghead is filled up to the top, quite solid. The weight of a hoghead is from seven hundred and fifty pounds to one thousand one hundred and fifty pounds nett in Maryland: in Virginia much heavier.”

I have noticed in the early part of this work some of the species of injuries which arise from over-prizing. It is a great injury to the James's river trade that the planters are so disposed to excel each other in this particular. I remember to have purchased a crop at South Quay in 1778, which was made at Moore's Ordinary in Prince Edward's county, Virginia, which (if my memory is right) weighed from one thousand four hundred to one thousand seven hundred pounds per hoghead, of the customary size. In the northern parts of Virginia

ginia they appear to approximate the Maryland method of culture and treatment, as will be seen by Judge Parker's following paper.

The Method of Cultivating and Curing Tobacco in that part of Virginia which borders upon Maryland, as practised by Judge Parker, and communicated to the American Museum in 1789.

A man who wishes to make fine tobacco, should be very particular in the choice of his seed; I mean as to the kind. I do not know a greater variety of any kind of vegetable than of tobacco; from the sweet-scented, the best sort, to the thick-jointed, a coarse kind of tobacco; but of which I think the most can be made. I would recommend to a gentleman who would wish for the reputation of a good planter, to cultivate the true sweet-scented.

When he has chosen his seed, let him prepare the beds, in which he intends to sow it, very fine; when thus prepared, they must be burned with corn-stalks, in order to destroy the seeds of weeds and grass, which, even when he has done the best with his beds, he will find very troublesome, and difficult to extirpate. The best time for sowing the seed is
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as early after Christmas as the weather will permit. When sown in beds, prepared as above directed, which should be done as soon as possible after they are burned, instead of raking-in the seed, the beds should either be patted with boards or gently trodden with naked feet. This being done, the next care is the covering them warmly with cedar or pine brush, to defend the young plants from the frost.

After all his trouble and care, the planter's hopes are often blasted by a little fly, which frequently destroys the plants when they first come up, and very often when they are grown to a moderate size; no certain remedy against them has as yet been discovered. I have heard, indeed, that sulphur will destroy them; and I believe it will; but it must be often repeated, and will be too expensive. I have thought, although I never have tried it, that a pretty strong infusion of saffraas, root or bark, sprinkled frequently over the beds, would destroy those insects; and I judge so, because I have experienced its effects upon the lice, a kind of fly, that infests cabbages. Drought will also destroy your plants, even where they are large in the beds; the planter should, therefore, before the drought has continued too long,

long, water his plants night and morning, until he has a good rain. You will see then, from these enemies to plants, the necessity of having several beds differently situated, some convenient to water-swamps, and some on high ground, well exposed.

These plants, at a proper size, as opportunity offers, are to be transplanted into hills at three feet distance.

Here it may be necessary to give some directions as to preparing the ground to receive the plants, and to inform you what kind of soil is best adapted to tobacco. The same kind of land, I think, that is proper for wheat, is so for tobacco, neither of them delighting in sandy soil. I do not think a clayey stiff soil will suit tobacco; however, let the soil be stiff or light, it ought to be made very rich, by cow-penning it on the sward, or by spreading your farm-yard manure over it. I would recommend that the hills should be made in the autumn, and at about the distance of three feet, or three feet and a half in the row and step; by this means it has a larger surface exposed to the frost, which will assist in the pulverizing and fertilizing it. A good hand may very well tend from ten to twelve thousand hills of fresh light land; or from six to ten thousand

thousand of stiff land ; and I believe where the planter depends upon manuring his land for a crop, he will find it difficult to get even five thousand hills properly manured.

If the planter has time to turn over, in the month of February, the hills which were made in the fall, he will find his advantage in it ; but I scarce believe that time will be found.

If the tobacco seed has been sown early in good beds, and those beds properly attended to, you may expect to plant your hills from them in May.

The earlier your tobacco is planted, the better, as it will not be fit to cut in less than three months ; by planting early, your tobacco will be housed in August, a month by far the best in the whole year to cut it, as it then cures of a fine bright nutmeg colour, and will have a much better scent than later tobacco.

When you perceive your plants large enough to set out, you must prepare your tobacco hills by re-working them, breaking the clods very fine, and then cutting off the top of the hill, so as to have it broad and low ; you then clap your hoe upon the top of it, which breaks the small clods.

Having turned as many hills as you think you can plant with convenience at one time,
you

you are to wait until a rain comes, ever so little of which, at this season of the year, will be sufficient, provided you can draw your plants from the beds, without breaking. The plants will more readily extend their roots if set out after a moderate rain, than if planted in a very wet season. Remember that you never prepare more hills than you can plant the next season; as fresh turned hills are best for the plants. In this manner you are to proceed until the whole of your crop is planted. You may continue to plant every season, until the last of June; but I think you have very little chance of making good tobacco if you have not your whole quantity planted by that time. After your crop is *pitched*, or planted, in the manner directed, it will require your closest attention. Your tobacco has at this period a very dangerous enemy in a small worm, called the ground-worm, which rises from the ground, and makes great havoc among the young and tender plants, by cutting off and eating the leaves quite into the hill. It sometimes happens that you will have your crop to replant five or six times before you can get it to stand well. You are then to watch the first rising of the worm; and every morning your whole force is to be employed in searching

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ing round each plant, and destroying this worm. When your tobacco begins to grow you must carefully cut down the hills shelving from the plants; and take every weed and spire of grass from around the plants, without disturbing the roots. They will, after this weeding, if the weather be seasonable, grow rapidly. When they have spread over the hills pretty well, and a little before they are fit to top, about four of the under leaves are to be taken off; this we call *priming*; and then the tobacco must have a hill given to it.

As soon as it can be topped to ten leaves, it must be done, and this by a careful hand, well used to the business. He is to suffer his thumb nails to grow to a considerable length, that he may take out the small bud from the top, without bruising, leaving ten leaves behind in the first and second topping, or until it grows too late for the plant to support so many leaves; then to fall to eight, and even to six; but this the skilful topper will be the best judge of, as it can be only known from experience. You are now to be attacked by another enemy, as dangerous and as destructive as any; it is the *horn-worm*, of a green colour, which grows to a large size, and if suffered to stay on the plant will destroy the whole. The first *glut* of them,

them, as the planters call it, will be when the tobacco is in the state above mentioned; and your hands must be almost constantly employed in pulling them off, and preventing their increase; but if you have a stock of young turkeys to turn into the field they will effectually destroy these worms. You are again to hill up your tobacco, and lighten the ground between the hills, that the roots of the tobacco may extend themselves with ease. Immediately after topping, your tobacco begins to throw out suckers between the leaves, where they join the stalks: these should be carefully taken off, for if they are suffered to grow, they greatly exhaust the plant. Not long after the first glut of worms, comes a second, in greater quantities than the former, and they must be treated in the same manner.

Tobacco, thus managed, will begin to ripen in the month of August, when it is to be cut, as it ripens, in order to be housed: but you should have a very skilful set of cutters, who know well when tobacco is ripe; for if it be cut before it is full ripe, it will never cure of a good colour, and will rot in the hoghead after it is prized. The tobacco, when ripe, changes its colour, and looks greyish; the leaf feels thick, and if pressed between the finger and

and thumb will easily crack: but experience alone can enable a person to judge when tobacco is fully ripe.

I think the best time to cut tobacco is in the afternoon, when the sun has not power to burn it, but only causes the leaves to be supple, that they may be handled without breaking. It should then remain on the ground all night: the next morning after the dew is off, and before the sun has power to burn it, it must be picked up; but there should be no appearance of rain the preceding night; for should a heavy rain fall upon the tobacco, when lying on the ground, it will injure it greatly, by filling it with grit, and, perhaps, bruising it. Tobacco is, indeed, generally cut in the morning, but in this case it must be watched very narrowly, and picked up, and put in small heaps on the ground, before it begins to burn; for if it be scorched by the sun it is good for nothing.

There are different methods taken in the management of tobacco, immediately after being cut, and sufficiently killed by the sun for handling. Some hang it upon fences until it is nearly half cured before they carry it to hang up in houses, built for the purpose; but this mode I do not approve of, as the leaves
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are too much exposed to the sun, and are apt to be injured. A much better method is, to have scaffolds made close to the house you intend to cure your tobacco in; and having a sufficient number of tobacco sticks of about four feet and a half long, and an inch thick, you bring in your tobacco from the field, and putting from ten to fourteen or fifteen plants upon a stick, you fix the sticks upon this scaffold, about nine inches the one from the other; there the tobacco remains until the leaves turn yellow. By this method you prevent the sun from coming to the leaves, and the rays only fall on the stalks. After remaining a sufficient time, you remove the sticks, with the tobacco on them, into the house, and fix them where they are to remain, until the tobacco be fully cured.

The houses built for the tobacco are from thirty to sixty feet long, and about twenty feet wide: the roof has wind beams about four feet distance, to fix the sticks on, and contrived at proper spaces to receive the whole of the tobacco, until the house is full, so that there be a space of six inches between the tails of the upper plants and heads of the lower, for the air to pass through.

If a person has house-room enough I would
advise

advise that the tobacco should have no sun, but be carried into the house immediately after it is killed, and there hung upon the sticks. But, in this case, the plants should be very few on the sticks, and the sticks at greater distances from each other; for tobacco is very apt to be injured in the house, if hung too close in a green state. If a crop could be cured in this way, without sun, its colour would be more bright, and the flavour finer; the whole juices being preserved unexhaled by the sun.

When your tobacco is fully cured in the house, which may be known by the colour of the leaf, and the dryness of the stem, it may be then stripped from the stalks, when it is in a proper state; that is, in season, which moistens it so as it can be handled. As soon as the tobacco is so pliant that it can be handled without breaking the leaves, it is to be struck from the sticks, put in a bulk until it is stripped from the stalks, which, in the earlier part of the year, should be immediately done, lest the stalks, which are green, should injure the leaf. If the tobacco is *too high in case* when it is struck, it will be apt to rot when it gets into a sweat. One thing should be particularly attended to, and that is, it should be struck as it
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first comes into case; for if it hangs until it is too high, or moist, and you should wait until the moisture dries away to the state I advise it to be in when you strike it, it will most certainly, when in bulk, return to its full state of moisture; and, therefore, it should hang until it is perfectly dry; and you are to wait till another season arrives to put it in proper case.

The next thing to be done, after the tobacco is struck, as I have said, is to strip it, and here you are to be particularly attentive. All the indifferent leaves are first to be pulled from the stalks, by sorters well acquainted with the business, and tied by themselves to be afterwards stemmed. The plant, with the leaves, is to be thrown to the strippers: they are to strip off the leaves, and tie up five leaves in a bundle with one of equal goodness. When you have got enough for a hoghead, which I advise not to be more than a thousand weight, it should be immediately packed up with very great care, and prized. Your hogheads should be made of staves not exceeding forty-eight inches long; and the head ought not to be more than from thirty to thirty-two inches in diameter. No directions can be given here for the packing, it can only be learned

learned from practice. If more tobacco than I here recommend be prized into a hogthead it will be apt to be bruised: a circumstance, which should be carefully avoided.

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P A R T IV.

PROGRESS OF THE CULTURE AND COM-
MERCE OF TOBACCO.*Of the first Knowledge of the Tobacco Plant.*

IT is generally understood that the tobacco plant of Virginia is a native production of that country; but whether it was found in a state of natural growth there, or a plant cultivated by the Indian natives (whose very origin is yet doubtful, and is daily becoming a matter of learned inquiry), is a point of which we are not informed, nor which ever can be farther elucidated than by the corroboration of historical facts and conjectures*.

I have been thirty years ago, and the greatest part of my time during that period, intimately acquainted with the interior parts of America; and have been much in the unsettled parts of the country, among those kinds of soil

* See Pere La Batt's account on the subject, translated from the French.

which are favourable to the culture of tobacco ; but I do not recollect one single instance where I have met with tobacco growing wild in the woods, although I have often found a few spontaneous plants about the arable and trodden grounds of deserted habitations.

This circumstance, as well as that of its being now, and having been, *cultivated* by the natives at the period of European discoveries, inclines towards a supposition that this plant is *not* a native of *North America*, but may possibly have found its way thither with the earliest migrations from some distant land. This might, indeed, have easily been the case from *South America*, by way of the *Isthmus of Panama**; and the foundation of the *Chaſtaw* and
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* *Lionel Wafer*, who published his travels upon the *Isthmus of Darien* in 1699, says, in page 102, “ These Indians have *tobacco* amongst them. It grows as the tobacco in *Virginia*, but is not so strong, perhaps for want of transplanting and manuring, which the Indians do not well understand ; for they only raise it from the seed in their plantations. When it is dried and cured they strip it from the stalks, and laying two or three leaves upon one another, they roll up all together sideways into a long roll, yet leaving a little hollow. Round this they roll other leaves one after another, in the same manner, but close and hard, till the roll be as big as one’s wrist, and two or three feet in length.

Their way of smoking when they are in company together is thus : a boy lights one end of a roll and burns it to a coal,

and *Chickasaw* nations (who we have reasons to consider as descendants from the *Tlascalians*, and to have migrated to the eastward of the river Mississippi, about the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico by *Cortez*) seems to have afforded one fair opportunity for its dissemination.

The first knowledge which the *English* may be supposed to have of this plant, seems to be deducible from the report of Sir John Hawkins in July 1565*, who says, that "The Floridians, when they travel, have a kind of herb dried, which, with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live foure or five

coal, wetting the part next it to keep it from wasting too fast. The end so lighted he puts into his mouth, and blows the smoke through the whole length of the roll into the face of every one of the company or council, though there be two or three hundred of them. Then they, sitting in their usual posture upon forms, make with their hands held together a kind of funnel round their mouths and noses. Into this they receive the smoke as it is blown upon them, snuffing it up greedily and strongly as long as ever they are able to hold their breath, and seeming to bless themselves, as it were, with the refreshment it gives them.

* Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 541.

dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks." It is not clear to me, however, that this fumid preparation was tobacco, as Mr. Hakluyt has set it down; for the Indians smoke much of a bark which they scrape from the *killiconick*, an aromatic shrub, somewhat resembling the willow; and have also a preparation made with this and *sumach* leaves, or sometimes with the latter mixed with tobacco.

There is, however, a very particular account given of the tobacco of Virginia, by Mr. Thomas Harriot, who made a voyage thither in 1586, and reported as follows:

"There is an herbe which is sowed apart by itselſe, and is called by the inhabitants *uppowoc*: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall countries and places where it groweth, and is used: the Spanyards generally call it *tobacco*. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder they use to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it through pipes made of clay, into theyr stomack and head: from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body:
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by which means the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not beene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby theyr bodyes are notably preserved in health, and know not many greivous diseases, wherewithall we in England are oftentimes afflicted.

“ This *uppowoc* is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke theyr gods are marvelously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie theyr gods, they cast some by into the ayre and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the ayre: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the ayre likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometimes dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering strange words and noises.

“ We ourselves during the time we were there, used to suck it after theyr manner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues

thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by itself: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness *."

The editors of Hall's Encyclopædia, published by Mr. Cooke in 1789, have given the following account of tobacco under the head of *Nicotiana*.

" There are *seven species*, of which the most remarkable is the *tabacum*, or common tobacco plant. This was first discovered in America by the Spaniards about the year 1560, and by them imported into Europe. It had been used by the inhabitants of America long before, and was called by those of the islands, *yoli*, and *pæ-tun*, by the inhabitants of the continent. It was sent into Spain from Tobacco, a province of Yucatan, where it was first discovered, and from whence it takes its common name. Sir Walter Raleigh first introduced it into England about the year 1585, and was the first who taught them how to smoke it. Tobacco is commonly used among the oriental nations, though it is uncertain by whom it was introduced among them. Considerable quantities

* Harriot's Voyage to Virginia, 1586. Hakluyt, p. 75-

of it are cultivated in the Levant, on the coasts of Greece and the Archipelago, in Italy, and the island of Malta.

“ Among all the productions of foreign climes introduced into these kingdoms, scarce any has been held in higher estimation than tobacco. In the countries of which it is a native it is considered by the Indians as the most valuable offering that can be made to the beings they worship.

“ They use it in all their civil and religious ceremonies. When once the spiral wreaths of its smoke ascend from the feathered pipe of peace, the compact that has been just made is considered as sacred and inviolable. Likewise when they address their Great Father, or his guardian spirits*, residing as they believe in every extraordinary production of nature, they make liberal offerings to them of this valuable plant, not doubting but they are secured of protection.”

So far in regard to the origin of a plant which has given such wonderful employment to the people of Great Britain during these

* I have more generally understood these offerings to be to the *devil*: the Indians always say (I think) that their *God* is a good being, who will do them no harm; but that they think it necessary to appease an evil and mischievous spirit.

two last centuries (of which one is just expiring): an employment which occupies an immense capital in trade; and from which many affluent fortunes have arisen. It will afford a curious, and perhaps satisfactory entertainment, to reiterate the progress of this commerce, and the improvements which have been successively made in it from the earliest periods of untutored nature to the present perfection of scientific manufactures.

Of the primitive Commerce in Tobacco.

According to the foregoing accounts we may conclude the first commerce in tobacco to have commenced in 1585 or 1586; Mr. Harriot's account is dated in 1586; and he was one of Sir Walter Raleigh's party.

The first thirty years which succeeded this period of discovery were greatly interrupted by quarrels among the Indian natives, as we learn from the histories which remain; and it is highly probable that some of the earliest written accounts of this commerce have perished with the parties who were massacred.

The earliest *official* accounts which I have been able to find, are contained in the public records of Virginia, which I have been permitted

mitted to transcribe, and from which I have extracted much certain and interesting matter by means of an amanuensis: the earliest of this goes back to the twenty-fifth of July, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one, which is thirty-five years later than the first *certain* knowledge of the plant by the English nation.

On the twenty-fifth of July, 1621, the London Company, stiled, *The Right Honourable the Earl of Southampton and others the Lords with the rest of the worthy Adventurers of the Virginia Company*, wrote to the governor and council of state residing in Virginia in the following words:—"With great difficulty we have erected a private magazine, men being most unwilling to be drawn to subscription to be paid in *smoke*. If therefore you expect for the future any such place, it must be your principal care that the Cape merchant be not constrained to vend his commodities at any set price; and in particular not to be enforced to take *tobacco at any certain rate*, and that you be aiding as well to this as to the former magazine for the return of debts. We require that the market be open for all men, that the charitable intention of the adventurers be not abused and turned into private gain. Therefore we desire you to have principally in your
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care that a strict proclamation be set out to prohibit such engrossing of commodities, and forestalling the market, thereby to vend to poor people at excessive rates. Such oppression and grinding of the poor we in our hearts abhor, and require you severely to punish: assuring you nothing can be more pleasing to us than the punishment of such monsters as devour their brethren by this wicked and barbarous practice; especially if such wickedness should be exercised by men in place of authority."

These instructions were signed by the Earl of Southampton, Mr. Deputy Farrer, Sir Edwin Sandys, Doctor Anthony, Doctor Gulston, Doctor Winston, Mr. Nicholas Farrer, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wrote, and Mr. Wroth. And on the twelfth day of the next month, August, they again wrote as follows.

"We cannot but condemn the use that is made of our boats, that are only employed in trading in the bay for *corn*. Almost every letter tells of that trade, which we only approve in case of necessity; for we conceive it would be much better for the plantation, and more honour for you and our nation, that the naturals should come for their provision to you, than you to beg your bread of them.

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We shall with a great deal more content hear of storehouses full of corn of your own growth, than of a shallop laden with corn from the bay. We pray you therefore that a larger proportion of ground be assigned to every man than formerly hath been; and that the severest punishment be inflicted upon such as dare to break your constitutions herein; and that officers be not spared, nor their tenants nor servants dispensed with. Our magazine is suddenly to follow this ship, wherein there are much greater proportion of things sent than were in the last; and though our factor of the last magazine was either by importuning persuaded, or by constraint enforced to part with his goods at under rates, *to be paid in tobacco* at three shillings per pound (which here, charges deducted, was sold for less than twenty pence per pound), yet will not the adventurers be so in this respect, for they are determined to accept of tobacco at no certain price, nor will sell their commodities upon trust till that wicked phrase and council be rooted out of the mouths and hearts of the planters, that *any thing is good enough for the merchants*. How worthy we are of this attempt we appeal to yourselves; yet hath it not been resented by you, nor the insolence punished. But seeing
our

our care and charge is repaid with such monstrous ingratitude, we desire you to give notice to the colony, that after this year they expect no farther supply of any necessaries to be exchanged with them for their *darling tobacco*. We have given them a year's notice beforehand, that they may fall upon some other course; and being sensible of the great loss the adventurers still sustain by your *roll tobacco*, made up with fillers (as they term it), it is by us and the adventurers ordered, that the Cape merchant accept of none but leaf tobacco. We pray you to publish this our order throughout the colony, that they may be provided to exchange with our Cape merchant none but leaf; and such as willingly transgress, thus having notice, if they suffer for it, it shall be no part of our care"

From the considerations contained in these two last recited official instructions, it appears extremely clear, that such was then the prevalent fashion of using tobacco in England, and upon the continent of Europe (probably countenanced to encourage the spirit of adventure which had bespread the atlantic ocean in the foregoing century), that the colonists were allured by the extraordinary price of three shillings per pound, to abandon the chief objects
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of their migration into those fruitful regions, for the prospect of exorbitant lucre which this commodity held out; and that on this account they so disgracefully submitted to an impolitic dependence upon the natives for bread, as to put the adventurers to their shifts to support the necessary independence of colonization; and, very justly, to merit their severe reprehension.

We learn, however, that it was deemed necessary to follow up these remonstrances very strenuously; and to check this monstrous propensity to a mistaken policy in the extension of this culture, by requesting the interventions of jurisprudence for some degree of legal restraint, as we find the company of adventurers again writing on the eleventh day of the next month (September), as follows:—"We desire you by whose wisdom and integrity we expect a general redress, to be by all lawful means and just favours, aiding and assisting to the business itself, and to our factor Mr. Blaney, that both his person and the goods may be safely and conveniently provided for, and accommodated; and that the selling and bartering of them be left free to his discretion, and according to the prices and instructions he hath here given unto him by the adventurers; whose

whose unanimous resolution, and charge is, not to accept of tobacco at *three shillings* the pound, finding, besides all former losses, that near forty thousand weight sent home last year for the general company and magazine, the better half hath not yielded eighteen pence per pound; and the rest not above two shillings: to which prices there is no possibility that they should arrive this next year. So that there must be an abatement of the price of tobacco; neither can we yield (which is by some persons pronounced), but by the whole company (not merely the adventurers of the magazine) it is denied, to continue the old rate of three shillings per pound, and to overvalue as much in the goods sent hence, as the tobacco is esteemed less worse than that rate. For although for matters of profit it might go current much alike, yet thereby we should maintain the colony in their overweening esteem of their darling tobacco, to the overthrow of all other staple commodities; and likewise continue the evil will they have conceived there, and the scandalous reports here spread of oppression, and exactions from the company's selling all their commodities for three times the value of what they cost. Upon which fond and unjust surmises, they think it lawful to use all manner

ner of deceit and falsehood in their tobacco that they part with to the *magazine*. This is the next thing wherein we desire your care and favour, being assured from our factor in London, that, except the tobacco that shall next come thence, prove to be of more perfection and goodness than that was which came home last, there is no hope that it will vend at all: For albeit it be passed once, yet the wary buyer will not be again taken. So we heartily wish that you would make some *provision for the burning of all base and rotten stuff, and not to suffer any but very good to be cured, at least to be sent home*; whereby, certainly, there would be more advance in the price than loss in the quantity."

To these instructions and remonstrances the governor and council returned the following answer:—"It is a thing very well liked of that you have left the price of tobacco at liberty, since that it is a commodity of such uncertain value by reason of the great difference thereof in goodness; and howsoever much of the tobacco of the last crop hath not proved very good by reason of the unseasonableness of the year, and of the want of time for the curing of it, yet we desire that no precedent may be made thereof; especially of that brought home

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by the marines, whose bringing of bad as well as good we could not at this time remedy; but have taken order, as much as in us lieth, to prevent it for the time to come. For the drawing off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco, we have by the consent of the general assembly restrained them to *one hundred plants the head; upon each of which plants there are to be left but only nine leaves,* which proportion, as near as could be guessed, was generally conceived would be agreeable with the hundred weight which you have allowed. By which means, as also by the course which we have taken, for the keeping of every man to his trade, we doubt not but very much to prevent the immoderate planting of tobacco. But nothing can more effectually encourage all men to the planting of corn in abundance, and so divert them from planting of tobacco, than, that you would be pleased since it is your desire that great quantities of corn be planted here, as well for such multitudes of people as you hope yearly to send over, as for our own use, to allow us a merchantable rate."

About this period we find the intervention of war with the Indians, and the cares of the colonial government as well as that of the company of adventurers, so much occupied with
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the means of defence against the enraged natives, whose horrid massacres threatened to depopulate the European settlements, that the correspondence between the two countries is mostly filled up with accounts of the military transactions of the times; and the staple of tobacco was left more to the course which chance might dictate. We learn something, however, of the state of that culture from a letter from the governor and council of Virginia, dated at James's city, January 20, 1622, wherein it is related to the adventurers, that there had been as many *private* adventurers recommended to them that year as it would require five times the crop of that year to satisfy; "*there being not made above three score thousand weight of tobacco in the whole colony.*"

Notwithstanding this contrast between the supply and demand, we find frequent complaints on the part of the colony, of want of strength, and danger of famine. Yet so great was the inducement of *three shillings per pound*, given about this period for tobacco in England, and so much greater must have been the number of mercantile adventurers than that of actual settlers, that the latter were stimulated by the prospect of gain to hazard every thing in favour of this lucrative plant: inasmuch

indeed, that the company of adventurers found it necessary to restrain the plantations to sixty pounds weight per head of their population; and the imposition of his majesty's customs (as stated in the adventurers' letter to the governor and council, dated at London, the 2nd of May, 1623,) was still continued at the (then reduced) rate of nine pence per pound.

Such, however is the unaccountable disposition of infatuated man, that neither these precautions, nor the after endeavours of the adventurers, aided by the vigilance of the public councils, could restrain this ill-judged and inordinate thirst for a very precarious traffic; although the pitch to which it had arrived endangered the very existence of those concerned in it, and at that time bid fair to annihilate an enterprise which has opened to the world *an inexhaustible source of commercial riches.*

Of the first Legislative Interposition in Regulating the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco.

We find it recorded, that after the hurry of war was a little over, and the advancing progress of population led to an organization of the colonial government, and convened a legislative authority at James's town, that one
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of their very first acts went to a more serious regulation of this growing abuse than the company had been hitherto able to effect. I cannot give a better picture of the times than the following, which I have been permitted to copy from their original record.

“ At a Grand Assembly summoned the sixth of January, 1639.*

Present,

Sir Francis Wiatt, Knight, Governor, &c.

Captain John West	Mr. Argoll Yeardley
Sir John Harvey, Knt.	Mr. George Menife
Capt. Sam. Mathews	Capt. Th. Willoughby
Captain Peirce	Captain Henry Brown
Mr. Rich. Kemp, Sec.	Capt. William Brocas
Mr. Roger Wingate,	Mr. Ambrose Harmer
Treasurer	Mr. Richard Bennett

“ The names of the burgeses for the several plantations returned by the sheriffs being as followeth, viz.

* A stranger will not, perhaps, perceive the immediate relation of *names* to the *history of tobacco*; but as many of these were founders of families occupying the same premises at this time, it affords a considerable historic light.

<i>For the Country of Henrico</i>	{ Capt. Tho. Harris Mr. Christ. Branch Mr. Edwd. Tunstall
<i>For the County of Charles City</i>	{ Capt. Francis Epps Capt. Tho. Pawlett Mr. Edward Hill Mr. Joseph Johnson
<i>For the County of James's City</i> Chicohominy Parish	{
The upper Chippokes and Smith's Fort	{
The lower Chippokes, Hogg Island, and Lawn's Creek	{
Martin's Hundred to Keeth's Creek	{
Farloe's Neck to Wa- rone's Ponds	{
Johnson's Neck, Ar- cher's Hope, and the Neck of Land	{
<i>For the County of War- wick River</i>	{ Mr. Zachary Crip For

N. B. This part of the original record is defaced and imperfect.

<i>For the County of Charles's River</i>	{ Mr. Williams Mr. Hugh Gwyn Mr. Peregrine Bland
<i>For upper Norfolk County</i>	{ Mr. Randolph Crew Mr. John Gookins Mr. Tristram Norris
<i>For the County of Lower Norfolk</i>	{ Capt. John Sibsey Mr. John Hill
<i>For the Isle of Wight County</i>	{ Capt. John Upton Mr. Anthony Jones Mr. John Moone Mr. James Tuke
<i>For the County of Eliza- beth City</i>	{ Mr. Thomas Oldis Mr. Peter Stafferton
<i>For the County of Ackow- mack</i>	{ Mr. Obed. Robins Mr. John Neale

“ Whereas the excessive quantity of tobacco of late years planted in the colony, and the evil condition and quality thereof being principally occasioned thereby, have debased the commodity to so vile esteem and rate; unless some speedy course be established therein it will be altogether impossible for the planters to receive any relieve or subsistence thereby, or be enabled to the raising of more staple commodities, or to disengage themselves of such debts

as they are already plunged into. For the more timely redress whereof, as also for the advancement of the price of tobacco, the principal merchants and most considerable number of adventurers to the colony have made tender of these propositions following, and signifying their consents under their hands to the conditions therein expressed, viz. That in case all the tobacco planted this present year 1639 in the colony of Virginia be absolutely destroyed and burned, excepting and reserving so much in equal proportion for each planter as shall make in the whole the just quantity of twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, the absolute best of the said tobacco and no more, so as the said twelve hundred thousand pounds of the said best tobacco have all the stalks stripped and smoothed; in consideration whereof they the said subscribers are content to accept and receive forty pounds of the said best tobacco so stripped, smoothed, and served; in full satisfaction of every hundred pounds of tobacco now due to them or any of them for any goods sold untill or before publication hereof in Virginia. Provided the said forty pounds for every hundred pounds of tobacco be paid unto them and every of them, their and every of their assigns at such several times as the said tobacco

tobacco shall grow due unto them and every of them.

“ Provided also that in two years next ensuing, viz. in the year 1640 and 1641, such restraint be had in planting as that there be planted and made twelve hundred thousand pounds of the like absolute tobacco, and no more; and if in case there be any tobacco over and beside the said quantity of twelve hundred thousand pounds, that it shall yearly, be absolutely destroyed, for and in consideration of the abatement aforesaid, which said subscribers are likewise consenting and agreeing as appeareth by a testimonial under the hands of the governor, and divers of the council, and others, that if it should happen through the late arrival of their said propositions the said stripping and smoothing which is principally desired cannot this year be effected, then, if the tobacco of this year, 1639, be reduced to the quantity of fifteen hundred thousand pounds without stripping and smoothing, they would be willing to receive fifty pounds of tobacco for one hundred pounds debt, provided that the colony be regulated for these two ensuing years to the quantity of twelve hundred thousand pounds per annum stripped and smoothed as aforesaid.

“ Now the governor and council together
with

with the burgesſes of this grand aſſembly having weighed the aforeſaid propoſition, and taken into conſideration the vaſt quantity of tobacco both in England and all other places where the commodity hath been formerly vended, to which, if all the tobacco of this year's growth ſhould be added and no reſtraint of planting to be made for the future (whereas it is now moſt deſpicable) it muſt (then) bring aſſured loſs to all who ſhall be dealers therein; both to the planters of their labours, and to the merchants of their adventures; have therefore thought fit upon mature advice to comply with the ſaid merchants' and adventurers' requeſt; and, to condeſcend upon the aforeſaid conditions and conſiderations, to deſtroy the tobacco of this year, to proportion and to reſtrain and ſtint the planting of tobacco for theſe two years next enſuing, in ſuch manner and form as in this act is hereafter expreſſed.

“ First, That all tobacco of this year's growth ſhould be reduced to the proportion of fifteen hundred thouſand pounds weight without ſtripping and ſmoothing, which in ſo unſeaſonable a time of the year could not be effected: It is thought fit, and eſtabliſhed, that in and for the ſeveral limits and precincts hereunder mentioned, there be yearly choſen and appointed
men

men of experience and integrity for the carefull viewing of each man's crop of tobacco. The viewers of this year (being nominated and appointed by the assembly) are as followeth, viz.

“ The viewers of this present year are, as hereunder, named commissioners; being joined to see the due execution.

For Henrico County.

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|---|---|
| 1. From the World's
End to Henrico | { Mr. Christ. Branch
Roger Chapman
Tho. Osborn |
| 2. For Henrico, Coxon
Dale, Varina, and Four
Mile Creek | { Mr. John Cookeney
John Baker
Samuel Almond |
| 3. For Curles, Brome,
and Turkey Island | { Mr. Richard Cock
Bryan Smith
Ambrose Cobb |
| 4. For the North Side of
Appomattor River | { Mr. Wm. Hatcher
Thomas Shippy
Richard Johnson |
| 5. For Conicoke | { Mr. John Baugh
Joseph Bourne |

Charles's

Charles's City County.

1. From the City to Bicker's Creek { Mr. Edward Hill
James Warredine
John Woodward
2. From the north side of Appomatter River { Mr. Cheney Boice
Anthony Wiatt
Nath. Tatham
3. For Merchant's Hope { Mr. Rice Hoe
Richard Tisdall
Richard Craven
4. For Westover, Buckland, and up to Turkey Island { Mr. Walter Afton
Edward Sparshot
Roger Davis
5. From Wianoak to David Jones's { Mr. Hen. Canterell
John Gibbs
Wm. Lawrence
6. From Maycox downwards to Mr. Claye's { Mr. John Fludd
John Glipps
George Place
7. From John Wall's his house to the utmost extent of Wianoke Parish downwards { Mr. Joseph Johnson
William Murrell
John Wall

James's

James's City County.

1. From the easterly side of Chippoke's Creek to Mr. Fludd's { Mr. Ben. Harrison
William Gapin
Edward Minter
2. From Mr. Fludd's Plantation to Mr. Gray's { Capt. Hen. Browne
John Garey
Henry Carman
3. From Smith's Forte to Grindon's Hill { Mr. Thomas Swann
John Bishop
William Mills
4. From Grindon's Hill and both sides of Lower Chippoke's Creek { Mr. Tho. Stampe
Stephen Webb
Erasmus Carter
5. For Lawn's Creek and Hogg Island { Mr. William Spence
Robert Latchett
John Dunston
6. For Sandy Point and Chicohominey Parish { Mr. Bridges Freeman
William Frye
William Morgan
7. For Thomas Harves, Pasby Haies, the Maine, and James's City { Mr. Rt. Hutchinson
Edward Oliver
Christ. Lawfon
8. For the Neck of Land { Mr. David Mansell
George Malen
Edward Wigg
9. For

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| 9. For the Gleab Land,
Archer's Hope, Jockies
Neck, and the Rich
Neck | } | Mr. Ro. Brewster
John Davis
John Thompson |
| 10. For the easterly side
of Archer's Hope Creek
to Warome's Ponds | } | Cap. Hm. Higginson
Nicholas Cummins
Thomas Browne |
| 11. From Warome's
Ponds to Peter Rid-
ley's | } | Mr. Fer. Franklin
Reynold Jones
Ralph Looney |
| 12. For the west side of
Keith's Creek | } | Mr. Thomas Caufey
William Shute
John Hayward |

Warwick River County.

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| 1. For the upper part of
Warwick River so far
as the Parish of Denby
extendeth, and down
to the upper side of Ba-
chelor's Hope Creek,
and Standley Hundred | } | Capt. Wm. Peirce
Francis James
Ro. Symonds |
| 2. From the lower side
of Batchelor's Hope
Creek down to the
upper side of Water
Creek | } | Mr. Tho. Barnard
Tho. Rainshawe
Francis Rice |

3. For

3. For the Parish of { Mr. Tho. Harwood
Mulberry Island and { Ro. Burt
Keith's Creek { Wm. Whittaker
4. From the lower side
of Water's Creek to { Mr. Zachary Cripps
the lower part of the { George Stratton
County { Thomas Moore

Isle of Wight County.

1. From Lawne's Creek { Mr. Wm. Barnett
to Castle Creek { Rd. Jackson
{ Wm. Lawton
2. From Castle Creek to { Mr. Justice Cooper
the Alps. { Henry King
{ William Ellis
3. From the Alps to { Mr. Peter Hull
Basses Choice and the { Lawrence Ward
Indian Field { John Sparkman
4. From the Indian Field { Mr. Arthur Smith
to the Level and so on { Joseph Cobb
both sides the Creek { Robert Boyde
5. From the Road Point { Mr. Jos. Salmon
to the Head of Pagan { John Mills
Point Creek { George Rawles
6. From

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| 6. From Hampstead | } | Mr. John Lewin |
| Point to Mr. Robert | | William Crannage |
| Pitts | | William Lewis |

Upper Norfolk County.

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| 1. From Mr. Bullock's | } | Mr. Tho. Burbage |
| House to Newman's | | James Knott |
| Point | | John Parrott |

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| 2. From Newman's | } | Mr. Tho. Drewe |
| Point to the head of | | William Parker |
| the River and Tuck- | | William Tucker |
| er's Neck | | |

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|----------------------|---|----------------|
| 3. From Mr. Gookin's | } | Mr. John Hill |
| to the westernmost | | John Benton |
| branch of Matraver's | | Francis Moulde |
| River | | |

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|----------------------|---|----------------|
| 4. From Samuel Grif- | } | Mr. Olive Spry |
| fin's to Mr. Raye's | | Tho. Emmerson |
| | | Peter Johnson |

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|-------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 5. For the western side | } | Mr. William Eyers |
| of Chuck-a-tuck from | | Rd. Prest |
| the Ragged Islands to | | Epaphroditus Law |
| the head of the Creek | | |

Lower

Lower Norfolk County.

1. From Capt. Willoughbys to Daniel Tanner's Creek { Capt. T. Willoughby
William Ship
Robert Jones
2. From the Western Branch to Elizabeth River { Lieut. Fran. Macon
Henry Cattelyne
Thomas Wright
3. For Danl. Tanner's Creek and the eastern branch on both sides { Mr. William Julian
John Gater
George Fawden
4. For the southern branch on both sides { Capt. John Sibsey
Thomas Meeres
Robert Martin
5. For the Little Creek and Eastern Shore { Mr. Henry Sewell
Robert Hayes
Chrs. Burrowes
6. For the south side of the River { Mr. Edw. Windham
John Stratton
Thomas Keeling

Ackowmack County.

1. From Hungars { Capt. Wm. Stone
Armestrong Foster
John Mayor
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2. From

2. From Mr. Bugley's to the King's Creek { Mr. Wm. Andrews
John Webster
Jas. Barnaby
3. From the King's Creek to the Old Plantation Creek on that side { Capt. Wm. Roper
Elias Hartree
Jonathan Gibbs
4. From Mr. Neal's upwards to Mr. Littleton's { Mr. Nath. Littleton
Luke Stubbins
Henry Wade
5. From Mr. Littleton's and all on that side { Mr. Wm. Burdett
Henry Bagwell
Wm. Berryman

Elizabeth City County.

1. From Harris's Creek to Far Hill, and to Hampton River { Mr. Leonard Yeo
John Branch
Sam. Parry
2. For the south side of the Back River { Mr. John Arundall
John Robinson
Nicholas Brown
3. For the Old Poquoson, from the beginning of the Damms to Mrs. Purefies { Mr. Peter Stafferton
Gilbert Perkins
George Hull

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|--|---|--|
| 4. From Mrs. Purefies's
to Mr. Eaton's | { | Mr. Symon Purefie
Wm. Armstead
Thomas Burges |
| 5. From William Parry's
house to the utter-
most end of the County | { | Mr. Thomas Culey
Samuel Jackson
Danl. Tanner |

Charles's River County.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1. From Back Creek for
the south side of Capt.
Wormeley's Creek | { | Mr. John Chew
John Lilley
Abraham English |
| 2. From the west side
of Capt. Wormeley's
Creek upwards as far
as the Parish extends | { | Capt. Rd. Townsend
Nath. Warren
Wm. Nottingham |
| 3. For the western side
of Queen's Creek | { | M. Hugh Gwyn
Anth. Parkhurst
Jof. Croshaw |
| 4. From the lower side
of the Parish to the
eastern side of Capt.
Utye's Creek | { | Capt. Nich. Martin
William Sayer
Nich. Stillwell |
| 5. From the western side
of Cap. Utye's Creek
and eastern side of
Queen's Creek and the
Middle Plantation | { | Mr. William Pryor
Rd. Davis
John Harwell |

6. For the north side of { Capt. Jn. Cheefman
the new Poquoson Ri- { John Jackson
ver { Arthur Makeworth
7. For the south side of { Mr. Tho. Curtis
new Poquoson River { George Saphur
{ Robert Lucas

The Oath of the viewers to be as followeth :

“ You shall swear diligently to view, and faithfully, without favour, malice, partiality, or affection, to burn all rotten and unmerchantable tobacco according to your best judgment, which shall be shewn to you within your limits ; as also you shall swear faithfully and duely to observe and keep the act of assembly concerning burning of half the good tobacco which shall be, or be known to be, within your limits.

“ Which said viewers being sworn according to the abovesaid oath, upon viewing of any man's crop of tobacco, what they shall find ground leaves, rotten, or any otherwise unmerchantable, are to see it burned ; and what they shall find good and merchantable they the said viewers shall seal with the seal appointed for measuring of barrells, and inserted in the margin. And to avoid all connivance that may be used by one viewer towards another, it is thought fit that the commander of every county shall

shall make choice of some able persons to be also sworn by the commander, who upon viewing of the tobacco belonging to the viewers are to do and execute as aforesaid. It is further enacted that if any viewers which now are, or which hereafter, shall be appointed, shall be neglectfull, remiss, or shall use delay in the executing of their office, that each viewer in case of such neglect, remission, or delay, shall forfeit five pounds sterling per day: the one moiety whereof shall be and come to the king, and the other to the publick use. Provided always, that it shall be free and lawfull for the said viewers or any of them to follow their own occasions, and respite the execution of their office two days in every week, notwithstanding any thing in this act to the contrary. Provided also that the planters shall have several days respite after publication hereof, to sort their tobacco: in which time the viewers are to provide themselves with seals. And it is ordered, and enjoined, that if any planter or person whatsoever, shall pay, receive, or put on board any ship or ships, any tobaccos before the same have been viewed and allowed by the viewers to be good and merchantable, and sealed with the aforesaid seal: he or they so offending shall forfeit double the quantity so

shipped and delivered; the one moiety whereof shall be to the king and the other to the viewer of that precinct from whence the tobacco was first paid, and to the informer. And to prevent all neglects of this service, which may be occasioned either through sickness or death of any of the viewers, the commander of the county shall have power, and is hereby authorised to appoint, and to give oath to some able person or persons. And because by such burning only of the bad tobacco as aforesaid, it cannot be presumed that the tobacco will be reduced to the desired quantity of fifteen hundred thousand pounds in the whole of this year's growth: It is further enacted by this general assembly that all the tobacco be forthwith viewed and sealed as aforesaid; and it shall not be lawfull for any person whatsoever to export or lade on board any ship or ships any quantity of tobacco either in leaf or rolls, before the viewers from whence the tobacco is to be shipped be acquainted therewith; who are to administer an oath to the owners or agent of or for the tobacco to be so shipped, viz. such of the said viewers as are qualified thereto by the place of commissioner, that he shall account to them for the full and entire quantity of his tobacco within the said limitt; and

and if any person or persons whatsoever shall conceal any part or parcell of tobacco so intended, or which shall be shipped, from the knowledge of the viewers, and of such concealment shall be lawfully convicted, he or they for such offence shall forfeit double the quantity thereof, half to the king, and the other half to the viewers of that limitt from whence the tobacco is shipped, and to the informer; and besides shall suffer the punishment due for perjury according to the laws of England. And the said viewers are hereby authorized and required to see and cause to be burned in their presence half the tobacco which shall be shewn to them upon oath as aforesaid, either belonging to any person or persons in England, or within the colony, or elsewhere, provided always that it shall be lawful for any person having fundry parcells of tobacco in one and the same county, to burn a number of hogheads of tobacco remaining in one place; and having a certificate from the viewers of the limitt that he hath clearly burned so many hogheads of tobacco, viz. without any allowance of a half not to be burned, in such case it shall be lawfull for the viewers of another limitt within the same county, to spare him the like number of hogheads without burning

half of them, so as the parcell which it is desired to be spared from burning exceed not in weight the parcell entirely burned in any considerable quantity which must be cleared and known by such certificates as aforesaid. And to the intent to remove all obstacles and discouragements which may slacken the endeavour and care of the viewers in the execution of their office, viz. as well in burning all the bad and ill conditioned tobacco as half the good and merchantable; all commanders, and all other officers, and all his majesty's subjects, are required to be aiding and assisting to them therein, as they will answer the contrary. And in case any person shall refuse to shew his tobacco to the intent the same may not be viewed and the bad tobacco burned, as also half the good destroyed and burned, by locking it up: in such case where no other means will prevail (persuasion being first used and the person still persisting refractory), it shall be lawful for the viewers to break open the doors of any house wherein in likelihood the tobacco of such persons may be concealed, to be for the better execution of their offices therein, to which this act doth authorize them without further warrant on that behalf. And whereas the subscribers do further propound that for these

two

two ensuing years the colony may be regulated to twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco per annum, and no more; and that likewise to be stripped and smoothed, in consideration whereof they are content to accept of forty pounds of tobacco for one hundred due to them for goods sold, untill or before publication: which is conceived by the assembly to be intended before publication of the act; provided the said forty pounds of tobacco for every hundred be paid unto them, or every of them, or their, or every of their assigns, at such several times as the said tobacco shall grow due unto them. Notwithstanding which said proviso which doth streightly engage the debtor to pay his debt at the date of his specialty, upon forfeiture in case of failing of the foresaid abatement of sixty pounds in the hundred; it appearreth by testimonial under the hand of the governor and divers of the councill and others, that it was not intended by the subscribers, neither is it conceived that the said abatement should be forfeited, in case payment be made of two thirds of the proportion to which they are restrained within the time of two years next ensuing: which is intended to be for two crops after this present crop of tobacco. It is therefore enacted as near as may be to cor-

respond with the propositions of the said subscribers, that no person or persons whatsoever, within the colony, for these two ensuing years, shall make above the proportion or quantity of one hundred and seventy pounds of tobacco per poll. Which said proportion of one hundred and seventy pounds of tobacco per poll, doth amount (by computation according to the list) to the quantity of twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco; in the whole thirteen hundred thousand pounds of tobacco; which said overplus of one hundred thousand pounds of tobacco the assembly doth think fitt to add to the twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, to defray all public charges and impositions, being after the rate of twenty pounds per poll: in respect they conceive it a burden no way tolerable for the inhabitants to discharge all tolls and impositions necessitated upon them, such as salaries for publick offices, and support of public buildings, to which his majesty's instructions enjoin them out of the said quantity of twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, being but after the rate of one hundred and fifty pounds per poll. -Neither doth the assembly conceive that they shall exceed the rate propounded by the subscribers, by such overplus, in respect of the great loss of weight

weight and shrinkage known to happen to tobacco in passing so long a voyage by sea. Provided always, notwithstanding any thing in this act to the contrary, that if any monopoly or contract be imposed upon the commodity that this act is to be void and of none effect.

“Whereas fundry persons upon knowledge had of the great quantity of tobacco planted this year within the colony may be presumed to be covenanted and agreed with merchants and others dealing in shipping to lade certain tons of tobacco aboard their ships at a rate conditioned by them, or to pay dead freight or some other forfeit in case of their non performance: whereto by this course of burning and destroying the tobacco they may in all likelihood, to their great damage and prejudice, be disabled. Be it therefore enacted for the better relief of all such persons, who by just proof shall make it appear that they are materially disabled by this act of burning the tobacco, to perform their conditions, and not from any other cause or ground, viz. that they had provided ready in cask, the proportion of tons agreed upon, one half whereof was destroyed according to order, that in such case such persons shall not be obliged to perform above half
the

the tenor of his condition, and so proportionable in the like cases.

Whereas divers persons by reason of the late proclamation prohibiting (untill further orders from this assembly) all trade and commerce for tobacco, have been enforced to supply the necessity themselves, and their servants, to engage themselves for the payment of money for commodities taken up by them which they are not to perform. Be it therefore enacted, that in such case the merchants shall rate commodities as low as they cost them the first purchase in England with petty charges; and the debtor shall lade in the name of the creditor, on board such ship as he shall like and approve on, so much tobacco as shall be satisfactory for his debt at the rate of three pence per pound, as also so much tobacco at the rate of three pence per pound as shall satisfy the merchant or creditor for his adventure at the rate of thirty pounds per ct.; and if it shall happen that the tobacco shipped as aforesaid shall produce any overplus to the principal debt as aforesaid, the rate of thirty pounds per ct. being likewise satisfied, that then the creditor shall be accomptable for the same to the debtor. But in case the tobacco shipped as aforesaid shall not produce the sum satisfactory as aforesaid,

faid, that then the debtor shall fatisfie the fame the enfueing year, with an allowance after the rate of eight pounds per ct. for forbearance. Provided that this act shall not extend to any other debt made and due in money, but to fuch ones as have arifen and become due fince the date of the proclamation prohibiting all trade and commerce for tobacco as aforefaid. Provided alfo, that notwithstanding any thing in this act to the contrary, it shall be lawfull for any debtor to pay and fatisfie the creditor, or to compound his debt by any other way and means than by fuch courfe fet and expreffed in this faid act. Provided alfo, that it shall be lawfull for the debtor to confign his tobacco to any friend in England, who upon payment of the debt and charges within twenty days after the unlading of the fhip at the port of London, is to receive the fame. Whereas alfo fince the publifhing of the aforefaid proclamation prohibiting trade and commerce for tobacco during a time therein limitted, divers perfons have bargained for commodities upon condition to pay for the fame in tobacco as it shall be rated by this affembly: it is thought fit that in fuch cafes tobacco shall pafs at the rate of three pence per pound, and likewise the remainder that
shall

shall be in the hands of the planters after their debts are satisfied shall not be disposed of under three pence per pound at the first penny.

“ To prevent the excessive rates of freight and tonnage for goods exported from the colony, it is enacted, that no persons whatsoever, after publication of this act, shall give above the rate of six pounds for freight per ton, the ton to consist of four Virginia hogheads according to the size ; neither shall any merchant, master of a ship, or any other person dealing for shipping exact above the rate of six pounds per ton, upon such penalty and censure as shall be thought fit by the governor and council ; provided that this act or the penalty thereof shall not extend to such person or persons who before the publication of this said act had bargained and agreed for a greater price per ton.

“ Be it also enacted, that if any person having debts due unto him in tobacco shall not demand the same before the tenth of May next ensuing, after which date, if the creditor shall lawfully tender the same before witnesses, and the debtor shall notwithstanding refuse to receive it, that in such case it shall be lawfull for the debtor to call the viewers for the said plantation or limitt, upon whose certificate to any court

court or courts, within the colony, of the goodness of the said tobacco, and of the quantity equal to the debt in question, the debtor shall be discharged of the said debt, provided he do not convert the said tobacco to any other use, and that he be carefull to preserve the same from damage or spoiling: neither is it intended that the said debtor shall stand to all hazards of fire, or other accidents for the same.

“Whereas it is thought fit as aforesaid, that the quantity of one hundred thousand pounds of tobacco overplus, besides the twelve hundred thousand propounded by the subscribers, be planted per annum for three ensuing years, being after the rate of twenty pounds per poll; by which addition the proportion of one hundred and fifty pounds per poll, amounting by computation to twelve hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, is augmented and enlarged to the proportion of one hundred and seventy pounds per poll; which said twenty pounds per poll is for the defraying as aforesaid of all public charges and impositions.

“It is now thought fit by the assembly to order and dispose of the said twenty pounds per poll to the uses hereunder mentioned, viz.

“To the ministers for their duties ten pounds of tobacco per poll for every titheable person,

person, out of which proportion the ministers to maintain their clerks and sextons.

“ The muster master general three pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person ; to be collected and paid by the several sheriffs.

“ To the captain of the forte, for his entertainment and maintenance, and for the procuring and maintaining of ten guarders for the forte, three pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person ; to be collected and paid by the several sheriffs as aforesaid.

“ And whereas upon consideration of the repairing of the forte, it was conceived by the assembly to be a vain and fruitless endeavour in regard of the apparent decay of the foundation, it is therefore thought fit that there be levied the next year by the sheriffs two pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person, toward the making and erecting of a platforme at Point Comforte, whereon to mount the ordnance, and also for the building of a convenient house for the said captain, which said two pounds of tobacco per poll is to be paid by the sheriffs to such surveyor or officer as shall be appointed by the governor and council to oversee the work : That there be also levied the next year by the sheriffs as aforesaid two pounds of tobacco for every tithable

able person throughout the colony, for and towards the building of a state house, which is also to be paid by the several sheriffs to such surveyor or officer as shall be appointed by the governor and council to oversee the work; Which said several levies, or any other, amounting in the whole to pounds of tobacco per poll being paid, it is thought fit that the remainder be deemed an overplus of one hundred and fifty pounds per poll, which raiseth the quantity of twelve hundred thousand weight to be destroyed and burned (drinking tobacco excepted).

“Whereas through the great debts and deep engagements of divers of the inhabitants it may be presumed they cannot pay and satisfy the same this present year, and will also be disabled to discharge them these two ensuing years, as the regulation of tobacco to so small a proportion must of consequence bring a great calamity and distress upon divers poor men, even to the loss and hazards of liberty and livelihood unless some course be taken for redress therein.

“Be it therefore enacted, for their relief in the premises, that all such persons being at the publication hereof engaged to pay debts beyond their abilities to satisfy their creditors

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this

this present year, shall not be compelled to pay or satisfy more than two thirds of their debts for this present year, and for the two ensuing years ; nor any farther than two thirds of their crop of tobacco ; but that it shall be lawfull for them to reserve the other third for and towards their necessary subsistence, without any molestation by or from their creditors ; to which end and purpose it is farther established that no execution shall pass against the bodies or estates of any debtors as aforesaid, for or concerning the said third during the time of the two ensuing years.

“ Be it also enacted for the better advancement of the price of tobacco, that no person or persons whatsoever shall barter, sell, or put away any of the tobacco of the growth of the ensuing year within the colony under the full value and rate of twelve pence per pound, upon the penalty or forfeiture of his or their whole crop or crops of tobacco ; the one half whereof shall be to the informer, and the other to the public use. And that no person shall barter, sell, or put away any of the tobacco of the growth of the following year, viz. anno 1641, under the full value and rate of two shillings per pound ; and under such penalties as aforesaid.”

Hence

Hence we learn the rude and imperfect state of those inspection laws which the progress of time and experience has so amply improved and concentrated; and it appears to be about this period that tobacco was introduced in lieu of specie, as a kind of circulating medium, and as the measure of price and value in Virginia negotiations: a local practice of that country where a man is as well understood when he says *I will give you ten hogsheads of tobacco for your horse*, as if he offered you one hundred guineas or pounds.

We perceive in this law, that the custom of passing tobacco current in payments had so far obtained ground, that the parson made no scruple of receiving this luxurious article for preaching; or the clerk for bawling out amen! And that the military officer thought it no way dishonourable to his profession to draw his pay in this specific article of traffic. At the general assembly of the succeeding year we are furnished with the following specimen on a larger scale of public payments; and we may here also discover one of those early instances of right honourable reconciliation to private interest which palliated this traffic in the hands of a colonial governor, and ultimately involved the supreme executive, and the whole legion

of taxes in the commerce of Virginia, until a very recent period.

Even the tavern keepers were compelled to exchange a dinner for a few pounds of tobacco: for their rates were fixed in this specific commodity at this subsequent assembly. But a still more striking evidence of its general currency will be found in the following act.

“Whereas it appeareth to the assembly that the colony standeth engaged for arrears due to several persons the quantity of thirty-nine thousand two hundred twenty-three pounds of tobacco; whereas also many important occasions nearly concerning the public weal of the colony, do necessarily require the agency of some persons of quality and experience in the affairs of the country, which, besides the care and pains of the said agents, must, of consequence, be accompanied with great and extraordinary expence and charge: the persons to be nominated by the governor and council, and the instructions given by them. It is therefore thought fit, that for a reward and recompence to such persons for their care and pains, and for the defraying of the charges there shall be levied this year four pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person throughout the colony;

lony ; amounting in the whole to eighteen thousand five hundred eighty four pounds of tobacco. Whereas likewise it is thought fit that there be levied four pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person throughout the colony, for the use of the governor, as a free and voluntary gift from the colony, amounting as aforefaid to eighteen thousand four hundred eighty-four pounds of tobacco.

“ It is therefore enacted that there be levied this year by the sheriff for the discharging of the aforefaid payment, seventeen pounds of tobacco per poll for every tithable person throughout the colony, which said payments are to be made by the several sheriffs to the persons, and for the use hereafter mentioned, viz.

	Pounds of Tobacco
“ That the sheriff of Warwick County shall pay unto Captain Samuel Mathews	5219
“ The sheriff of Lower Norfolk County unto the said Captain Mathews	5610
“ The sheriff of Elizabeth County unto the said Captain Mathews	5541
“ The sheriff of the Isle of Wight County unto the said Captain Mathews	4752

“ Which said several fums, amount-

Pounds of
Tobacco

ing in the whole to twenty-one thousand
twenty-three pounds of tobacco, are
arrearages due to the said Captain Ma-
thews 21023

“ That the sheriff of Upper Norfolk
shall pay unto Captain William Peirce
and George Menifie, Esq. 8000

“ Which said eight thousand pounds of to-
bacco is due to them the said Captain Peirce
and Mr. George Menefie for demurrage of the
ship Revenge, anno 1635, formerly discharged
aud satisfied by them.

“ That the sheriff of Elizabeth City
shall pay unto Captain Robert Falgate
five hundred pounds of tobacco for his
charges in his employment as muster
master 500

“ That the sheriff of Charles's City
shall pay unto Mr. John Neale 8976

“ That the sheriff of the Upper Nor-
folk shall pay unto the said Mr. Neale 224

“ Which sums in the whole amount
to the quantity of nine thousand two
hundred pounds of tobacco, and is for
so much disbursed by him, and was for-

Pounds of
Tobacco

merly to be paid out of the levy of
twenty-six pounds per poll 9200

“ That the sheriff of Ackowmack
shall pay unto Richard Smith for two
drums for the publick service 500

“ That the sheriff of Charles’s River
shall pay unto such person as shall be ap-
pointed by the governor and council for
the use of the agents 13073

“ The sheriff of Henrico 3876

“ Which said several sums make in
the whole seventeen thousand four hun-
dred and forty-nine pounds of tobacco,
being after the rate of four pounds of to-
bacco per poll as aforesaid 17449

“ That the sheriff of James’s City shall
pay unto the governor 13787

“ That the sheriff of Ackowmack
County shall pay unto the governor . . . 4797

“ In the whole eighteen thousand five
hundred and eighty-four pounds of to-
bacco, as a voluntary and free gift from
the colony as aforesaid 18584

Pounds of
Tobacco

“ That the sheriff of Charles’s County
shall pay unto Mr. John Corker, clerk
of the assembly, one thousand pounds of
tobacco, out of the arrears of the last
levy 1000

(Signed)

Vera copia,

RICH. KEMP, *Secretary.*”

This law for the regulation of payments in this specific staple is the first of the kind which I have been able to find recorded. It bears date in the year 1640, and is cotemporary with a proclamation of the governor and council, which is founded upon the act of the colonial legislature, passed at James’s Town the preceding year, 1639, concerning the restraint and burning of tobacco, which its purport is to carry into execution. We learn from these laws how much the subject of this staple was interwoven in the spirit of the times; and how nearly the history of the tobacco plant is allied to the chronology of an extensive and flourishing country, whose measures contribute greatly, even at this day, to give a tone to the affairs of the American union.

Shortly after this period we find the records of that country so copiously filled with military transactions, that there seems to be little other notice taken of tobacco than what respects the payment of guards and engineers, and the builders of batteries and fortifications. Probably the revolutionary spirit of the approaching times occupied more of their attention, for we find them recorded to have held out loyally, and to have surrendered honourably.

Neither the articles of their capitulation with the English republic, nor the act of indemnity which accompanies it, throw any particular light upon this specific history, except what is to be inferred from the conciliatory tenor of these instruments; but as they are the most concise statement of the times which can be given, and may be new to some persons; and, more particularly, as they exhibit the picture of times in which the Solomons of the age were wont to run mad after a tobacco plant, I shall be pardoned for inserting a transcript of this agreement from the archives of the present Virginia government.

Articles agreed on and concluded at James's Cittie in Virginia, for surrendering and settling of that plantation under the obedience and government of the Commonwealth of England, by the Commissioners

Commissioners of the Council of State, by authoritie of the Parliament of England and by the Grand Assembly of the Governour, Council and Burgeesses of that Country.

“ 1. It is agreed and consented that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall be and remain in due obedience and subjection to the Commonwealth of England, according to the laws there established, and that this submission and subscription be acknowledged a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the countrey, and that they shall have and enjoy such freedoms and prevelidges as belong to the free borne people of England, and that the former government by the commissions and instructions be void and null.

“ 2. That the grand assembly, as formerly, shall convene and transact the affairs of Virginia, wherein nothing is to be acted or done contrarie to the government of the Commonwealth of England, and the lawes there established.

“ 3. That there shall be a full and totall remission and indempnitie of all acts, words, or writeings, done or spokin against the parliament of England in relation to the same.

“ 4. That Virginia shall have and enjoy ye
antient

antient bounds and lymitts granted by the chartirs of the former kings, and that we shall seek a new chartir from the parliament to that purpose against any that have intrencht upon ye rights thereof.

“ 5. That all the pattents of land granted under the colony seale by any of the precedent governours, shall be and remaine in their full force and strength.

“ 6. That the priviledges of haveing ffiftie acres of land for every person transported into that colony shall continue as formerly granted.

“ 7. That ye people of Virginia have free trade as ye people of England do enjoy to all places and with all nations, according to ye lawes of that commonwealth, and that Virginia shall enjoy all priviledges equall with any English plantation in America.

“ 8. That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions, whatever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the grand assembly; and soe that neither ffortes nor castles bee erected, or garrisons maintained without their consent.

“ 9. That noe charge shall be required from this country in respect of this present ffleet.

“ 10. That for the future settlement of the countrey in their due obedience, the engagement

ment shall be tendred to all ye inhabitants according to act of parliament made to that purpose, that all persons who shall refuse to subscribe the said engagement, shall have a yeare's time, if they please, to remove themselves and their estates out of Virginia, and in the mean time dureing the said year to have equall justice as formerly.

“ 11. That ye use of the booke of common prayer shall be permitted for one yeare ensueing with reference to the consent of ye major part of the parishes, provided that those things which relate to kingshipp or that government, be not used publiquely, and the continuance of ministirs in their places, they not misdemeaning themselves, and the payment of their accustomed dues and agreements made with them respectively, shall be left as they now stand dureing this ensueing yeare.

“ 12. That no man's cattle shall be questioned as ye companies, unless such as have been entrusted with them, or have disposed of them without order.

“ 13. That all ammunition, powder, and armes, other than for private use, shall be delivered up, securitie being given to make satisfaction for it.

“ 14. That all goods allreadie brought hither

ther by ye Dutch or others, which are now on shoar, shall be free from surprizall.

“ 15. That the quittrents granted unto us by the late kings for seven yeares be confirmed.

“ 16. That ye commiffioners for the parliament fubfcribing thefe articles, engage themfelves and the honour of the parliament for the full performance thereof: and that the prefent governour, and ye councill, and the burgefles, do likewise fubfcribe and engage the whole collony on their parts.

RICHARD BENNETT. Seale.

WM. CLAIBORNE. Seale.

EDMUND CUSTIS.” Seale.

These articles were figned and fealed by the commiffioners of the councill of ftate for the Commonwealth of England, the 12th day of March, 1651.

*An Act of Indemnitie made at the furrender of
the Countrey.*

“ Whereas by the authoritie of the parliament of England, we the commiffioners appointed by the councill of ftate authorized thereto having brought a flecte and force before James's cittie in Virginia to reduce that colonie under obedience

obedience of the commonwealth of England, and findeing force raised by the governour and countrey to make opposition against the said ffleete, whereby assured danger appearinge of the ruin and destruction of ye plantation, for prevention whereof the burgessees of all the severall plantations being called to advise and assist therein, upon long and serious debate, and in sad contemplation of the greate miseries and certaine distruction which were soe neerely hovering over the whole countrey; We the said commissiioners have thought fitt and condescended and granted to signe and confirme under our hands, seales, and by our oath, articles bearinge date with theise presents, and further declare that by ye authoritie of the parliament and commonwealth of England derived unto us theire commissiioners, that according to the articles in general wee have granted an act of indempnitie and oblivion to all the inhabitants of this coloney from all words, actions, or writings, that have been spoken, acted, or written, against the parliament or commonwealth of England, or any other person from the beginning of the world to this daye. And this wee have done that all the inhabitants of the colonie may live quietly and securely under the commonwealth of England.

land. And we do promise that the parliament and commonwealth of England shall confirme and make good all those tranfactions of ours. Witnefs our hands and feales this 12th day of March, 1651.

RICHARD BENNETT. Seale.

WM. CLAIBORNE. Seale.

EDM. CUSTIS." Seale.

Of the more modern State of the Tobacco Trade.

Thus far we have reviewed the culture and commerce of tobacco from the earliest knowledge of the plant. I lament that I am compelled to leave a kind of chafm in my design to have given a regular and uninterrupted detail of this trade from the period at which we are here arrested in our progress for want of document; for I have not been able to procure a copy of the Virginia laws in London, and feel the deficiency of many other interesting papers which are requisite to render the history complete up to the present time; but which can only be procured on the other side the ocean. We may discover, however, from the nature of the foregoing articles of capitulation and indemnity, that this commerce must have been greatly disordered by the intervention of civil wars; and those which immediately followed
with

with the French and with the Dutch, cannot, I think, have proved a much lighter interruption to the markets of this early traffic.

I find amongst the colonial records about this period, various provincial acts for making tobacco a legal tender from individual to individual, as well as in discharge of public obligations: such indeed was the smoking spirit of the times, that he who kept a public house was compelled to sell a dinner or a draught of beer for an equivalent in tobacco leaves; and his tavern rates were regulated by the courts of justice in pounds of tobacco, a bill of which was publicly exposed in his house for the information of his guests. It is easy to trace, from this foundation, the primitive cause for rendering tobacco the medium of value in the payment of costs of suit, parish and county dues, and many other public demands of a like nature, which continued to be appendages of the regal jurisdiction until the period of the American revolution.

With respect to the foundation of imposts, customs, excise, and such like duties upon tobacco, Mr. Jefferson recites the title of an act passed the 20th of June, 1644*, in the reign of Charles II, charging all tobacco brought

* Jefferson's Notes, p. 308.

from

“ Whereas his most sacred majesty was graciously pleased by his royal instructions, dated 12th of September, in the 14th year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and two, to confirm to this his majesty's colony of Virginia *an imposition of two shillings per hogshead upon all tobacco exported*, with command that the moneys raised by the said imposts should be employed for the support of the government there, and for the advancement of manufacture and diverse other good designs for the advantage of this his majesty's colony; and, whereas, this last year, several ships, together with their loading, have been taken on their return home from hence by the Dutch men of war, though none went but in fleets according to the command of his majesty and the lords of his most honourable privy council, except some few who went contrary to express command: one of which, viz. the *Ruffel*, of Topham, was taken; and whereas many of the merchants upon the said ship, taken as aforesaid have desired a reimbursement of the said impost paid for their goods so

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lost,

lost, with such limitations as are expressed in an act of parliament, intituled, "An Act for Tunnage and Poundage," the governour and council taking the premises into their most serious consideration, and withal considering the present great expence of this colony, occasioned by building a fort for the necessary defence of shipping, and providing themselves against any attempt reasonable to be expected from a foreign enemy, and such as are at present threatened from our bordering Indians confederated with remoter nations; and having little else, by reason of the present extreme low value of tobacco, either to compass those good ends, or defray the charges aforesaid, besides the very small revenue raised of the said impost of two shillings per hoghead, have thought fit to order, and it is hereby accordingly ordered, that, all such repayments to be made upon goods lost as aforesaid, shall be suspended until it shall be declared by his majesty and the lords of his most honourable privy council, whether the said impost being so small, and designed and imployed for so many important ends, doth fall within the compass and equity of the said act for tunnage and poundage, or not; and if it shall be judged in the affirmative, that then whether we shall make such repayments according

according to the said rules in the said act prescribed; or, whether considering our present great and pressing necessities, we shall have a longer time given us for the same; to all or any of which decisions we shall most humbly pay ready obedience, and to all other commands of that most honourable board."

Mr. Jefferson says *, that Virginia exported, *communibus annis*, antecedent to the American war, about fifty-five thousand hogheads of tobacco, of one thousand pounds weight each hoghead, and that in the year 1758, they exported seventy thousand hogheads; which was the greatest quantity of tobacco ever produced in that country in one year.

Mr. John Henry (author of a map of Virginia) tells us in a note affixed to that map, about the year 1769, or 1770, that the staple trade of Virginia is *tobacco*; but that it does not yield much to the planter, notwithstanding that above fifty or sixty thousand hogheads are exported, *communibus annis*, to Great Britain. "Yet," adds he, "as seventeen thousand tons of British shipping are employed, and many thousand British inhabitants are supported thereby, it is very valuable to the subjects; and

* Jefferson's Notes, p. 276.

may be also said to be a jewel to the crown, *as so large a sum arises out of the duties.*"

The country, indeed, is very capable of improvement in every part of it; and there is no doubt but much more tobacco might be made if the inhabitants were disposed to extend their powers to this object; but it remains with time to decide, how far the Virginians will extend the policy of this staple: within my day I have no doubt of its *comparative* decline in proportion to the extent of agriculture; and wherever this change for a different species of culture substitutes the features of content and plenty in the room of poverty and wretchedness, it is certainly a change that should gladden the heart of man.

Previous to the American war, some accounts have stated the exports of Virginia and Maryland at *eighty thousand hogsheads communibus annis*: the freight of this tobacco in British bottoms, at thirty shillings per hogsheaf, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, per annum, in favour of British navigation.

Between the years 1786 and 1789, the amount of tobacco exported from Virginia, as stated in the official returns to the solicitor's office, were as follows:

From

	Hogheads.
From October, 1786, to October, 1787, . . .	60,041
From October, 1787, to October, 1788, . . .	58,545
From October, 1788, to October, 1789, . . .	58,673

According to the Level of Europe and America, p. 97, 98, the exportation of tobacco from Virginia * was considerable from 1752 to 1755. From 1763 to 1770, it diminished in such a manner that in the interval of those two periods it was reduced to an average of 67,780 hogheads each year: this, says the Level, has been ascribed by some to the cultivation of the same production in Holland, Alsace, Palatine, and Russia; which must, as it increased, have lessened the demand upon America.

In the article of tobacco during the foregoing periods, the consumption in England is said to have advanced to 41,170 hogheads. According to the account and the balance of imports and exports between Great Britain and the American Colonies, laid before parliament for eleven years preceding 1774, the advantage annually advanced to about 1,500,000 pounds sterling. The yearly amount of the payment into the exchequer, according to the account of the duties upon tobacco, from

* Perhaps Maryland was included in this calculation.

1770 to 1774, was 219,117 pounds sterling. One half of this tobacco was imported into Scotland, and four-fifths of that half was exported to France, Holland, Germany, and other countries.

* In 1775, the duties on tobacco arose to £298,002 sterling. The duties upon this tobacco were so excessively high, that in the same year 131 hogheads of tobacco, exported on account of a merchant in Charleston, for Bristol in England, produced to the proprietor but £1307. 4. 1½ sterling. The excise with the nett proceeds amounted to £4912. 8. 0½. As a better elucidation of this fact the account of sales is hereunto annexed.

Sales of 131 hogheads of tobacco, shipped in Charleston, South Carolina, on the ship Lively, Captain G. Carter, for Bristol, on account of Mr. L. F. 1775.

Freight at £32. 6. per

Ton 212 7 6

Premium 10 12 9

Average 9 16 0

232 6 9

Duties of entry on 109,280 lb.

old and new tax, at 3½ per lb. 341 10 0

Additional duty on the new tax

⅓, tax 47,59, and impost at

* Level of Europe.

the

the rate of $7\frac{1}{3}$, deducting 15			
per cent.	2838	4	9
Gifts, landing, and carriage	5	17	0
Cooperage, 1s. 6d. per ton	13	12	11
Addition, 7d. }			
Cellarage, 1, weighing, 4 ds.	8	14	8
Premium of insurance on £800			
at 40, Policy 13	16	13	0
Commission and bad debts at 3			
per cent.	147	7	6
Nett proceeds	1912	10	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Total	£4912	10	$9\frac{1}{2}$

Sold and delivered at different times to fundry persons from the 15th of November, 1775, to the 16th of January, 1776, at $8\frac{3}{4}$, $10\frac{1}{2}$, according to the

quality	4762	9	2
For 9 months discount on £2834. 4. 9. at 7 per cent.			
per annum	149	2	2
Bounty on 573 lb. at $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.			
for average	1	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$
	£4912	10	$9\frac{1}{2}$

According to this statement, the correspondent has but 3 per cent. commission, that is to say, £147. 7. 6. sterling; but the charges, taxes, duties, imposts, and additional burdens, destroy more than 3-4ths of the value of the tobacco, as there remains to the proprietor out of £4912. 10. 8½, but £1912. 10. 8½, and thus the duties have swallowed up £3448 sterling.

Mr. Morse tells us (in page 500 of Stockdale's 4to. edition of his Geography), that in the year succeeding October, 1790, Virginia exported only about 40,000 hogsheads of tobacco: the following abstract from the *official* accounts of the treasury, are, perhaps, the *best* kind of authority,

Amount of Tobacco exported from the United States of America for the years following, viz.

	Hogsheads
From Aug. 1789, to Sep. 1790, the total exports	118,460
From Oct. 1, 1790, to Sep. 30, 1791 . . .	<u>101,272</u>

Whereof, from New Hampshire	7
Massachusetts	1190
Rhode Island	743
Connecticut	499
New York	1290

New

COMMERCE OF TOBACCO.

201

	Hogheads
New Jersey	7
Pennsylvania	1928
Maryland	25019
Virginia	56288
N. Carolina	4772
S. Carolina	3708
Georgia	5821
Total Hogheads	<u>101272</u>

From October 1, 1791, to September 30, 1792.

	Manufactured lbs.	Hogheads
New Hampshire		3
Massachusetts	110525 and	1221
Rhode Island		1429
Connecticut		105
New York	1600 and	1952
New Jersey		5
Pennsylvania	2140 and	3203
Delaware		8
Maryland	780 and	28992
Virginia	2025 —	61203
North Carolina		3546
South Carolina	624 and	5290
Georgia	180 —	5471
Total	<u>117874</u>	<u>112428</u>

From October 1, 1792, to September 30, 1793.

Total	<u>137784</u>	<u>59947</u>
		From

From October 1, 1793, to September 30, 1794.

	Manufactured lbs.	Hogsheads.
Total	<u>19370</u>	<u>72958</u>

From October 1, 1794, to September 30, 1795.

Total	<u>20263</u>	<u>61050</u>
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From October 1, 1795, to September 30, 1796.

Total	<u>29181</u>	<u>69018</u>
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From October 1, 1796, to September 30, 1797.

Total	<u>12805</u>	<u>58167</u>
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From October 1, 1797, to September 30, 1798.

Total	<u>142268</u>	<u>68567</u>
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A Statement exhibiting the Amount of Drawbacks paid on dutiable Tobacco exported from the United States, in the Years 1793, 1794, and 1795.

1793.				1794.				1795.			
Duties		Drawback		Duties		Drawback		Duties		Drawback	
Dolls.	Cents	Dolls.	Cents	Dolls.	Cents	Dolls.	Cents	Dolls.	Cents	Dolls.	Cents
898	26	444	49	1890	16	272	59	4255	04	18	59

From these different statements, a tolerable approximate information may be obtained touching the progress of the tobacco trade,

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from

from the earliest introduction of this staple into Europe. If it had been possible to have procured the necessary materials from America, without delaying the press, I should have endeavoured to have made this account more satisfactory; and I will not neglect to do it in an appendix, if I should be able to find any thing useful. As this may, however, be a doubtful point, which may leave the subject open to others, I beg leave to add, for their assistance, a schedule of laws and state papers, with which Mr. Jefferson's notes have furnished me.

A Schedule of Proclamations, Laws, and State Papers, touching the Culture and Commerce of the Plant Nicotiana, extracted from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

Commissio specialis concernens le garbling herbæ Nicotianæ. 1620, April 7. 18 Jac. I. —17 Rym. 190.

A Proclamation for the Restraint of the disordered Trading of Tobacco. June 29. 18 Jac. I.—17 Rym. 233.

A Proclamation concerning Tobacco. 1624, September 29. 22 Jac. I.—17 Rym. 621.

A Proclamation for the utter prohibiting the
Importation

Importation and Use of all Tobacco which is not of the proper Growth of the Colony of Virginia and the Somer Islands, or one of them. 1625, Mar. 2. 22 Jac. I.—17 Rym. 668.

Proclamatio de herba Nicotiana. 1625, April 9. 1 Car. I.—18 Rym. 19.

A Proclamation touching Tobacco. 1626, Feb. 17. 2 Car. I.—Rym. 848.

De Proclamatione de Signatione de Tobacco. 1627, Mar. 30. 3 Car. I.—18 Rym. 886.

De Proclamatione pro Ordinatione de Tobacco. 1627, August 9. 3 Car. I.—18 Rym. 920.

A Proclamation concerning Tobacco. 1630, Jan. 6. 5 Car. I.—19 Rym. 235.

A Proclamation to prevent Abuses growing by the unordered retailing of Tobacco. 1633, Aug. 13. 9 Car. I.—Mentioned 3 Rushworth, 191.

A Proclamation for preventing Abuses growing by the unordered retailing of Tobacco. 1633, October 13. 9 Car. I.—19 Rym. 474.

A Proclamation restraining the abusive vending of Tobacco. 1633, Mar. 13. Car. I.—19 Rym. 522.

A Proclamation concerning the landing of Tobacco, and also forbidding the planting thereof

thereof in the King's Dominions. 1634, May 19. 10. Car. I.—19 Rym. 553.

A Commission concerning Tobacco, MS. 1634, June 19. 10 Car. I.

A Proclamation concerning Tobacco. 1636, Mar. 14. Car. I.—Title in Rush. 617.

De Commiffione speciali Georgio domino Goring et aliis Concessa concernente venditionem de Tobacco absque licentia regia.—20 Rym. 116.

A Proclamation concerning Tobacco. 1639. Mar. 25. Car. I.—Title, 4 Rush. 1060.

A Proclamation declaring his Majesty's pleasure to continue his Commission and his Letters Patent for licensing Retailers of Tobacco. 1639, August 19. 15 Car. I.—20 Rym. 348.

A Proclamation concerning Retailers of Tobacco. 1639. Car. I.—4 Rush. 966.

An Act for charging of Tobacco brought from New England with Custom and Excise. 1644, June 20. Car. II.—Title in American Library, 99, 8.

An Act for advancing and regulating the Trade of Virginia. 1644, Aug. 1. Car. II. Title in American Library, 99, 9.

An Act for prohibiting Trade with Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermudas, and Antego. 1650, October 3. Car. II.—Scobell's Acts, 1027.

An

An Act for increase of Shipping, and encouragement of the Navigation of America. 1651, Oct. 9. 3 Car. II.—Scobell's Acts, 1449.

Treaty of Westminster between France and England. 1655, Nov. 3.—2 Mem. Am. 10. 6 Corps. Diplom. Part II. p. 121.

A Paper concerning the Advancement of Trade. 1656. Car. II.—5 Thurl. 80.

The Assembly of Virginia to Secretary Thurlow. 1656, Oct. 15. 8 Car. II.—5 Thurl. 497.

The first Charter granted to the Proprietors of Carolina. 1662-3, Mar. 24. April 4.—15 Car. II. 4 Mem. Am. 554.—Second Charter, 1665, June 13, 24. 17 Car. II.—4 Mem. Am. 586.

The following Documents are to be found in Vol. I. of Hazard's State Papers.

Commissio pro Tobacco. 1604. p. 49.

Commissio specialis concernens le garbling herbæ Nicotiana. 1620. p. 89.

Commission to Sir William Ruffel, Knt. and others. 1634. p. 373.

Proclamations

Proclamations concerning ditto.

For Restraint of disorderly Trading. 1620.

p. 93.

Concerning Tobacco. 1624. p. 193.

De Concessione demiss. Edwardo Dichfeild
and Aliis. 1624. p. 198.

Proclamatio de herbæ Nicotianæ. 1625.
p. 202.

A Proclamation for the utter prohibiting
the Importation and Use of all Tobacco which
is not of the proper growth of the Collonyes
of Virginia and the Sommer Islands, or one of
them. 1625. p. 224.

Act of Parliament imposing Duties of Cus-
toms and Excise laid upon Tobacco, the
Growth of New England. June 20, 1650.
p. 636.

P A R T V.

OF THE TOBACCO TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

*Of Lighterage by means of River Craft, and of
Taking-in, in Virginia.*

IN the foregoing part of this work we have (so far as circumstances and materials permit at present) taken a view of the culture and commerce of tobacco from the origin of the plant to the act of taking away by the agents of the merchant for the purpose of exportation. In Part III. we have also noticed one of the *water* means of delivery by a smaller species of lighters, or *scows*; but this only respects an occasional method of taking-off from the shore, where shoals intervene between the landing-place and such vessels as are compelled to ride in the stream on account of their draught of water.

This is an intermediate operation, which frequently occurs at the *falls* of the principal rivers, which, by their sudden torrents in time

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of

of the land floods, produces a tendency to sil-
tage and repeated changes of the channel.

This is particularly the case at the falls of James's river in Virginia, where *Richmond*, the metropolis of that state, is situated. And on this account, together with the circuitous windings of the river, the large vessels from Europe are generally moored at the distance of ten or fifteen miles below the town by land; but which is nearly three times as far by the water conveyance upon the river.

For the accommodation of this intervening space river craft are employed, which either take in their freight from the wharfs by the help of *skids*, or from the scows by the help of *tackle*; in the same way by which the cargo is a second time transferred from the river craft to the ships which are to bring it to Europe.

Several of the principal rivers in the middle states are subject to similar impediments; and such increase very much in the rivers southwardly from the Chesapeak bay, which admits sea vessels but a very little way up them, yet have a surprising extent of interior navigation. These rivers however are employed very little for the conveyance of tobacco, their staple cul-
ture,

ture, admitting a variety of produce *. Virginia alone is the state which furnishes the greater proportion of this article; and the warehouses at the falls of James's river, and upon Appamatox river (which is an arm or branch of the same water), ship by far the greater number of the Virginia hogheads to the markets in Europe: it is on this account that I confine my remarks more particularly to the mart of Richmond, which I would always be understood to mean when I do not express myself to the contrary.

The river craft, which were employed in the tobacco trade antecedent to the American revolution, were, in a great degree, the property of the merchants, or of their factors. They were generally flats of forty hogheads burden, managed by negroes, who became very dextrous in their profession as fresh water sailors; and many of them made excellent *skippers* †, and good river pilots. Since the establishment of the state government this employment has experienced some changes; and the distribution of labour seems to obtain ground, in a

* For the comparative export of Maryland, see Part IV. page 201.

† Captains of small vessels.

more general introduction of those larger sloops and schooners which were formerly but employed occasionally.

The rates of this craftage antecedent to the American revolution were,

	In sterling
For a hoghead of tobacco from Richmond, upon James's river, to the port of Norfolk, upon Elizabeth river, or to Hampton road, the sum of five shillings Virginia currency	say 3 9
For ditto from ditto to City point, four shillings	say 3 0

Of the Stower and his Assistants, and of stowing the Cargo.

The extent of the Virginia rivers, and the great scope of country through which the business of the tobacco trade is necessarily extended, requires so much of the captain's attention that he is obliged to be frequently on shore, and sometimes at a considerable distance from his ship. The important business of stowing the cargo advantageously, as well as safely, for the voyage, devolves of course upon the chief mate; as, indeed, does every other care of the ship, insomuch that he may be considered

sidered the principal executive officer, and is certainly the primary responsible one for every neglect concerning the ship and cargo.

This official situation renders it therefore his study to be constantly present during this part of the operation; and (as the safety of the voyage, as well as the consideration of freight, is now dependent on good management) I believe there are few instances where the chief, or second mate as his representative, do not see every particular hoghead deposited in its proper birth.

There are, moreover than these superintendants of the ship, certain professional negroes, and other persons of great practice and experience in this art, who are to be had on hire for each particular occasion; and there is certainly a very material saving to the merchant in employing them; for although the crew of the ship are always sufficiently employed, and are useful in taking in the respective hogheads, and in forwarding them to the hands of the stower, there is a cleverness and management in his part of the employment which can only be acquired by practice; and indeed the most expert sailors will find difficulties vanish before the stower and the negro labourers who assist him, which might

otherwise have impeded very troublesome obstacles. On this ground it is found advantageous to temper the judgment of the seaman with the advice of the stower; for by this condescension many a lee-lurch is provided for beforehand, when it would be difficult to secure a shifting cargo in the time of actual danger: a piece of neglect that perhaps ought to account for many vessels in the bottom of the ocean, which, we have to lament, *have never been heard of**.

The mechanical powers made use of in stowing tobacco, are, the lever, and the *jack*, an implement of the same kind with those which are commonly used for raising up travelling waggons for the purpose of greasing their wheels; but the stowing jack is somewhat more powerful, although both are similarly contrived to work upon the *rack* principle †. By these means whole casks of tobacco are compressed into a much smaller space than

* This reflection may serve to remind those who have suffered shipwreck, or who have the care of taking in lading, how much depends, in ordinary cases, upon duly secured *shifting boards*.

† The barrel screw is an implement of powerful capacity, which, I think, ships should not be without: it might be well applied in many cases for stowing tobacco.

they

they seem naturally designed to occupy, and the impression that is made upon so bulky an article can only be properly conceived by those who have remarked the powerful impression of mechanic aid upon the indented sides of a flattened hoghead. How far this mode of squeezing such a substance for sake of a few pounds freight may strain the structure of the ship, is an inquiry resting, perhaps, in experiment: I should in any case conceive the end had been completely obtained when a cargo was rendered sufficiently compact to avoid the danger of its shifting in heavy weather: but when we find daily instances in the king's warehouses of tobacco which had been *squeezed to death*, as it were, without regard to the proprietor's loss, it seems to be a proof that there are men who think otherwise. It is customary to fill up the interstices with staves, or lock stocks; and in some cases with loose bundles of tobacco.

Of the Ship's Officers, and their Privileges.

The privileges of the ship's officers are, in some cases, incommoding to such persons as may happen to become passengers on board homeward bound *tobacco* ships; for there are captains, sometimes, in that trade, who prefer

a little clear gain to their own personal comfort, and are (on this account) in the habit of stowing their *cabins* with hogheads of tobacco, as well as the hold and steerage. How far this may strain a ship's upper works, accumulate her disbursements, or be strictly admissible, is, I suppose, known to the ship owners where it is customary, and is none of my business, further than a hint may prove useful; but I confess if I were a ship owner myself, I should be disposed to compensate for the surrender of such privileges by a pecuniary consideration.

I do not pretend to be a *professional* judge in matters of this nature, but so far as equilibrium is concerned in a rough and rolling sea, I think this seems to be an improper part of the ship to place so powerful a leverage; and I am persuaded I have more than once seen the gulf stream in a state of agitation which must have put the principle of preponderation to the test of a dangerous experiment.

In respect to the nature of these privileges, I apprehend them to be different; nor am I certain whether they do not vary on board the particular ships of the same port, by specific agreement, as they certainly do between one port and another. I have a faint recollection of a customary privilege on board some of the
Liverpool

Liverpool ships, before the American war, amounting, I think, to four hogheads for the captain, two for the chief mate, and one each for the second mate and carpenter: perhaps this or a similar custom extended to ships in the Bristol trade.

In the Glasgow trade, I believe, the officers enjoy a privilege with regard to the staves and lockstocks by which the cargo is secured; and perhaps in some instances the captains have a per centage allowed upon the cargo, and in others share the passage money. The objectionable point, in my view of philosophical gravitation, is that of fixing a heavy weight upon that part of the ship where the cabin is situated; but, I believe, this is a privilege resting solely with the captain, who is, or ought to be, a professional judge of the balance between his risk and his interest.

Of Freight and Insurance.

Freight and insurance are operations of commerce which usually preponderate in favour of countries which either have arisen, or are fast approaching, to their zenith of population and wealth.

America, being yet an infant in the catalogue
of

of commercial nations, perhaps may not be supposed to claim any considerable portion of these advantageous functions. In her principal seaports she has, nevertheless, her affluent ship owners and underwriters, and has, at least, as much *carrying trade* as comports with her *interest*. But, I think, these are rather to be esteemed exotics, or scions of the old tree, transplanted into a luxuriant soil, than natural productions, which deserve an eager and extensive cultivation. The rates of insurance and freight must for a long time be influenced by the superiority of European navies, as well as by the fluctuations of her exchange and public securities; and that trade would seem most likely to promote a mutual profit and good understanding, which bottoms its commercial faith upon the foresight of a well systemized correspondence, tending to multiply the powers of *production* in America, and the *facilities* of *universal intercourse* on the eastern side of the Atlantic ocean. The rise and fall of *insurance* must necessarily vary (and particularly in such a war as the present) with the caprice of victory, or the skill of naval tactics; and that of *freight* must experience a similar agitation. The present war affords an extraordinary instance of variation: previous to the American revolution

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tion the freight of *one ton*, containing *four hogsheds* of tobacco, was six pounds; it is now (1799) six guineas per *hogshhead*.

Of the American Clearance.

Since the establishment of the present federal government of the United States, the department of the customs is become a branch of the *general government* jurisdiction; and the duties which arise from it form a part of the federal revenue. Its branches are extended into all ports of that extensive union, where they are deemed necessary; and their appointments are chiefly filled with officers who evinced particular merits in the contests of the American revolution.

The branches of this department are ultimately responsible to the revenue department of the treasury; which is stationary at the seat of Congress, and must, this next year, be removed with it to the federal city of Washington, from the temporary capital of Philadelphia.

Each of these *branch* offices are assisted by a competent number of revenue cutters and boats; and the business of the customs is chiefly shaped to the British pattern.

In

In the James's river (which is the principal tobacco trade, there are two officers of the customs; one at Norfolk, and the other at City Point. When a vessel has received her cargo and is ready for sea, it is the business of the captain to have several general manifests of the cargo made out, containing a faithful description of all the tobacco which is received on board; and a copy of this manifest being delivered at the office and sworn to by the captain, before the collector or the customs, together with the manifests of the inspections (which operate as a check upon the captain's manifest), a clearance will be granted; and he will be forthwith at liberty to depart, put to sea, and pursue his destined voyage with the first favourable wind and weather.

ABSTRACT OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS
CONCERNING THE COMMERCE OF TOBACCO
IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Of the Duties upon Tobacco.

By an act of parliament passed in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of his present majesty, George the third, entitled, "An Act for repealing

pealing the Duties on Tobacco and Snuff, and for granting new Duties in lieu thereof—" from October the tenth, 1789, the duties imposed on tobacco and snuff, and the drawbacks allowed on the exportation of tobacco, are to cease; and in lieu thereof the following duties of customs and excise are to be paid, viz.

For every pound weight of Portuguese or Spanish tobacco imported into Great Britain, the sum of one shilling and six pence customs, and two shillings excise duties.

For every pound weight of tobacco, when delivered from the warehouse for exportation, the sum of one penny customs, and two pence excise duties.

For every pound weight of Irish or American tobacco imported, six pence customs, and nine pence excise duties.

For every pound weight of snuff imported by the East India company, one shilling and three pence customs, and two shillings excise duties.

For every pound weight of snuff which shall be imported from British America, or the Spanish West Indies, six pence customs, and one shilling excise duties.

For every pound weight of snuff which shall be imported into Great Britain from any other place,

place, ten pence customs, and one shilling and four pence excise duties.

But it is provided, that tobacco of the growth, production, or manufacture, of Spain and Portugal, or of their plantations and dominions, which is imported and warehoused agreeably to the directions of this act, shall not pay the duties imposed until it shall be delivered out of the warehouse (in which it shall have been deposited according to the directions of this act), either for home trade, consumption, or manufacture; or for exportation.

The duties in these cases are to be under the management of the commissioners of the customs and excise in England and Scotland, respectively.

What Tobacco may be imported into Great Britain.

From and after the tenth of October, 1789, no tobacco whatever is to be imported or brought into Great Britain, other than from the British colonies in America, or from the United States of America; except Spanish, Portuguese, and Irish, tobacco, under the present regulations.

From the first of August, 1790, no tobacco or snuff is to be imported into Great Britain in any vessel of less burden than one hundred and
twenty

twenty tons, on pain of forfeiting vessel and cargo.

No tobacco stalks, tobacco stalk flour, or snuff work, is to be imported, on pain of forfeiture, together with vessel and cargo. Nor shall any tobacco or snuff be imported into Great Britain in casks less than four hundred and fifty pounds nett weight. But these restrictions do not extend to make seizure of loose tobacco shipped for the use of the crew, at the rate of five pounds weight per man: nor shall the vessel be forfeited if proof be made, from the smallness of the quantity, &c. that any tobacco or snuff was on board without knowledge of the owner or master.

Hovering on the Coast with Tobacco forfeits Ship and Cargo.

Vessels with more than one hundred pounds of tobacco and snuff, or any tobacco stalks, manufactured or unmanufactured, tobacco stalk flour, or snuff work, are forfeited if found at anchor, or hovering within four leagues of the coast.

How

How, and into what Ports, Tobacco may be imported.

No tobacco of the growth of any of the British colonies in America can be otherwise imported than from some of the said colonies; nor can any tobacco of the growth or production of the United States be otherwise imported than directly from some port of the United States; nor shall any such tobacco be imported or brought into Great Britain from any part of the said colonies, plantations, islands, or territories, “ Unless the ship or vessel in or on board which the same shall be so imported, or brought, shall be British built, registered according to law, and navigated with the master and three-fourths of the mariners *British*; nor shall any such tobacco be imported or brought from any part of the United States, unless the ship or vessel in which the same shall be so imported, or brought, shall be either *British* built, registered, and navigated, as aforesaid, or shall be built in the countries belonging to the United States of America, or any of them, and owned by the subjects of the said United States, or any of them; and navigated with a
master

master and three-fourths of the mariners, at least, subjects of the said United States, or any of them," upon pain of forfeiture of ship and cargo.

* Tobacco and snuff is also forfeited if imported or brought into any part of Great Britain, except the ports of *London, Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, Cowes, Falmouth, Whitehaven, Hull, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and Leith*: By act 31 George III. c. 47. the port of *Newcastle upon Tyne* is added.

American tobacco imported into the *West India* islands in traffic, may be from thence imported into Great Britain, under restriction to *British* built vessels, the names whereof are to be specified in the manifest; and the officers of the customs within his majesty's colonies in America are to deliver to the masters of vessels, at their clearing, a manifest which shall authorize the importation of the tobacco into Great Britain.

Regulations concerning the Manifest.

From October 10, 1790, no tobacco of the growth of the American states shall be imported into Great Britain without a manifest sworn to by the master of the vessel; and mas-

* See also *Appendix*.

Q

ters

ters of vessels importing tobacco from America without manifests are to forfeit two hundred pounds. Masters of such vessels upon arrival within four leagues of the coast, are to produce their manifests to the proper officers, whensoever they are by such officers demanded *. And such officers shall certify such production upon the back of the said manifest; and such captain shall give unto such officer, and to the officer of the excise, a copy of such manifest; the receipt whereof shall be certified by such officer upon the back of the original, with the particular day and time when such officers shall have received the same respectively.

Of securing Hatches on Arrival.

The officer of the customs who shall first come on board is required to batten down the hatches; in which operation the crew of the ship are to give the necessary assistance; and if the master of the ship shall refuse to produce his manifest, or the hatches after being battened down shall be improperly opened, he is to forfeit the sum of two hundred pounds.

* 29 George III. c. 68. § xx.

Of breaking Bulk.

If bulk shall be broken on board any vessel having tobacco on board, within four leagues of the coast, or in any harbour of Great Britain, or if any part of the tobacco shall be unladen before the proper officers shall have duly authorized the same, such vessel and cargo become forfeited; and the master shall be fined two hundred pounds: cases of distress and necessity are excepted on due proof.

If any tobacco or snuff shall be landed without a lawful warrant from the proper officer of the customs, the same shall be forfeited; and all persons aiding and assisting, knowingly, in the same, shall forfeit three times the value of such article.

Of the Moorings.

The moorings of vessels importing tobacco are to be appointed and regulated by the officers of the customs; and the vessels when so moored are to continue until regularly cleared by the proper officer. Masters disobeying in this respect are to forfeit one hundred pounds.

Of the Entry of the Ship.

The master of every ship on board of which any tobacco shall be imported or brought into any or either of the ports appointed in Great Britain, shall, immediately at mooring such vessel, make true entry, or report, upon oath, before the collector of the customs, of the ship and cargo under his command, on pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds, together with the tobacco so imported; and if such master shall fail or refuse to deliver a manifest or paper of contents thereof to the proper officer of the customs, he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

Of Entry by the Importer.

In ten days, where the major part of the cargo shall consist of tobacco; or in fifteen days, where the major part of the cargo shall consist of other goods, after the captain shall have either reported his ship, or neglected to have done so, the importer of tobacco is to make entry with the officers of the customs and excise, of the quantity of tobacco by him imported; and of what particular country the same is the growth

growth or production. And the importers of snuff shall make a like entry; and if such entry be not made, the tobacco or snuff so neglected is to be conveyed to the king's warehouse, and there deposited at the rate of six pence per week storeage for each hoghead, which shall be paid before delivery of the same to the importer; the snuff within one month after it is so warehoused, and the tobacco within twenty-four months. But tobacco or snuff brought to any one of the ports enumerated in this act, may be conveyed in the same vessel to another port, if it be so originally reported.

Of touching for Orders.

Vessels laden wholly with tobacco may come into *Cowes* and *Falmouth* to wait for orders; *provided* that report and entry is duly made with the proper officers of the customs, to this end.

Of the Re-exportation of Snuff.

No snuff imported shall be entered for exportation, or exported in the same ship.

Of the Warehouse and its lawful Officers.

Commissioners of the customs are to provide warehouses for storing tobacco and snuff.

The commissioners of the customs and excise for England and Scotland, respectively, are required to appoint one or more officers of the customs and excise for each respective warehouse, one or more of whom to be the keeper or keepers thereof.

Of landing the Cargo.

Officers of the customs on board vessels are to mark the hogheads which are to be landed, with a proper mark, and running numbers; and such hogheads are to be landed and conveyed in their presence to the warehouses, where the tobacco is to be taken out, separated, and weighed in the proper scales of the warehouse, at the expence of the importer; and if any importer shall refuse or neglect to comply with such regulations, such tobacco shall be subject to the rate of six pence per week warehouse rent, until all duties shall be paid, and all requisites of the law shall be complied with.

Provided that the stalk shall not be separated from the leaf of damaged tobacco, which must be burnt if the payment of duties for it is refused, and the ashes disposed of by the commissioners of the customs for the most money which can be obtained,

Of

Of Samples for Sale.

After the tobacco shall have been weighed in the public warehouse, the proprietors, consignees, or other importers, are permitted to take out samples in the presence of the officers of the customs; but these samples must not exceed four pounds weight for each hoghead, which must be returned to such hoghead before the same shall be re-weighed for exportation, or for home trade, consumption, or manufacture. Snuff is in like manner to be taken to the public warehouses, and weighed; after which samples are, in a similar way, allowed, and to be returned before the cask or other package is disposed of.

Of the Exportation of Tobacco.

Tobacco lodged in the public warehouses may be exported from thence on giving twenty-four hours notice, and complying with the rules and regulations prescribed by law; but bond and security is in this case required for the actual exportation of all such tobacco taken out of the warehouse for the avowed purpose of exportation; the penalty of such bond, however, is not to exceed three thousand pounds,

or to be charged with stamp duties ; but no warehoused tobacco can be delivered for exportation at any other than the place where such tobacco was originally imported ; and in the original hogshead.

After separation of the damaged tobacco, if the remainder in the hogshead shall be under four hundred and fifty pounds weight, it may be repacked in the presence of the officers of the customs and excise, for exportation.

Tobacco entered outwards may, from time to time, be delivered for exportation, upon producing to the warehouse-keeper the proper certificates that the requisite bonds are entered into. But if tobacco so delivered be concealed and not shipped within twenty-four hours after such delivery, it becomes liable to seizure, together with the casks or other packages. And if tobacco so shipped for exportation be unshipped within four leagues of the coast, or reloaded, it becomes forfeited, together with the vessel in which it was so shipped. No tobacco however is to be exported in vessels less than seventy tons, except for Ireland ; and if they are suspected to be less, they may be detained until they are properly measured, and the captain is to forfeit one hundred pounds in case of deficiency.

Penalty for erasing Marks.

Persons erasing marks or brands from the tobacco hogsheds are to forfeit one hundred pounds.

What constitutes a Discharge of Exportation Bonds.

Bonds given for faithful exportation are to be discharged as follows, that is to say, by producing certificates of a bona fide landing of such tobacco in its destined port——if shipped to Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, or Sark, upon production of such certificate to the collector who took such bond, within six months; if entered for any other port in Europe (except the Isle of Man and Island of Faro) in twelve months; the same to any port in the Mediterranean; to America or Africa within eighteen months; and to, or beyond, the Cape of Good Hope within twenty-four months: such certificates to be signed by the consul, or other proper officer*.

* In foreign parts where no regular officer can be found, the certificate of two known English merchants, duly authenticated by the constituted authorities of the place, will be the next degree of evidence.

Bonds

Bonds for exporting tobacco to Ireland are not to be deemed forfeited for so small a deficiency as two pounds of tobacco in each hundred pounds.

Prohibited Ports.

From October the 10th, 1789, no tobacco is to be exported to *Jersey, Guernsey, Aldersey, or Sark*, or to the *Isle of Man*, unless permitted by licence of the commissioners of the customs; but this licence has a particular limitation, for each place respectively.

Rules for taking Tobacco from the Warehouse.

All tobacco deposited in the king's warehouse, is to be taken away in twenty-four months; and warehoused snuff in one month. And the duties upon each, respectively, are to be paid and satisfied previous to delivery. Six pence per hoghead warehouse rent per week is to be paid after expiration of eighteen months; and if tobacco be not taken away in twenty-four months, and snuff in one month, they may be sold for payment of duties and storage; and if no more than the amount of duties is offered for such tobacco, it may be burnt, and the ashes sold.

If

If tobacco or snuff be not taken away in fourteen days from the time it is weighed for exportation, or home consumption, it shall be subject to six pence per week storage in like manner as aforesaid*.

Who are to be employed in the King's Warehouse.

No person is to be employed in the king's warehouse, by importers of tobacco, but such as are especially licensed to that end.

Of wrecked Tobacco and Snuff.

All tobacco or snuff which may be saved from any wreck, or vessel in distress, shall be lodged in the nearest custom-house warehouse, and treated in other respects as tobacco lawfully deposited, as herein aforesaid.

Thus far the act of parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the eighteenth of May, 1784, and continued by several prorogations and adjournments to the third day of February, 1789, so far as the same concerns the *English commerce* of tobacco; and which I have endeavoured to abstract faithfully as an outline of ready reference for those whom it may concern. As I do not, however, rely on my

* See also page 237.

infallibility; where actual contests may subsist (and more especially as legal distinctions may arise in a thousand collateral points), I beg leave to refer those who may have property at stake, to more skilful counsel. I have endeavoured to search the laws scrupulously, nevertheless, for such alterations or amendments as may have occurred since the passing of this voluminous act; and I think it proper to add the following abstracts, which have occurred to my notice.

At a parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the 25th of November, 1790, an act was passed, and published in 1791, intitled, "An Act to prevent other ships than those laden with tobacco from mooring and discharging their lading at the places appointed by an Act made in the 29th Year of his present Majesty, intitled, *An Act for repealing the Duties on Tobacco and Snuff, and for granting new Duties in lieu thereof*, to prohibit the exportation of damaged or mean Tobacco; and for permitting the Importation of Tobacco and Snuff into the Port of Newcastle upon Tyne."

Limitation of Moorings.

This act recites the act 29 George III. Chap. 68. and enacts, that, none but tobacco ships shall be moored, &c. within the limits of the
places

places appointed under the above recited act, for mooring such ships, on penalty of twenty pounds.

Damaged Tobacco to be burnt, &c.

That, damaged tobacco shall be burnt, and no allowance shall be made to the importer for the same.—And, that, tobacco and snuff may be imported into Newcastle upon Tyne, under regulation of the acts in force on June the 10th, 1791.

New Regulations of Storage.

By another act of the same session of parliament, continued by prorogation and adjournment, and published in June, 1793, reciting an act passed 29 George III. cap. 68, it is enacted, that in place of six pence, imposed by the said recited act, only three halfpence per week per hogshead shall be paid for warehouse room; nor shall warehoused tobacco be sold for payment of the duties, unless it should not be cleared in three years. It is further enacted, that, the damaged part may be separated, when warehoused tobacco is brought to be weighed for exportation, or home consumption.

Instance

*Instance of a Spanish Ship admitted to Entry by
Act of Parliament.*

There is, moreover, in this act a singular instance of the admittance of a Spanish ship, the *San Juan Baptista*, from *New Orleans*, to entry. As such examples are exceptions to the general law, I beg permission to recite this instance of British liberality.

“ Whereas a cargo of tobacco, the produce of West Florida, was, in or about the month of February, 1793, brought on board a Spanish ship or vessel, called the *San Juan Baptista*, from *New Orleans*, into the port of *Plymouth* in the county of *Devon* : and whereas application was made to the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, setting forth, that the said cargo was originally intended for *Nantz* in the kingdom of France, but on account of hostilities between Spain and that country, the same was brought into the port of *Plymouth*, with a request that said cargo might be admitted to an entry in this kingdom as tobacco imported from the countries belonging to the United States of America : and whereas in consideration of the afore said circumstance, the right honourable
the

the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, directed that the said cargo should be admitted to entry on payment of the duty of one shilling and three pence per pound weight, being the duty payable upon tobacco the growth or production of his majesty's colonies, plantations, islands, or territories, in America, or the United States of America, on condition that security should be given to his majesty for the payment of the duty of three shillings and six pence per pound weight on the said tobacco, unless provision should be made by parliament for admitting the same at a lower duty; and security has been given by bond accordingly: and whereas it is expedient that relief should be given in this case; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said bond so given shall be cancelled; and that so much of the said cargo as consists of unmanufactured tobacco, shall, upon the delivery thereof for home trade, consumption, or manufacture, be admitted to entry, on payment of the same duties of customs and excise as are due and payable on tobacco of the growth or production of the United States of America, or be delivered for exportation in like manner as tobacco of the growth or production of the United States may now, by law, be so delivered;

vered ; and that the remainder of the said cargo, being manufactured tobacco, shall be delivered free of duty, on due entry being made, for exportation thereof to the port of Hamburgh ; and that all the said tobacco, upon the delivery thereof either for home trade, consumption, or manufacture, or for exportation, as the case may be, shall be subject and liable to the rules, regulations, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, to which tobacco of the growth or production of the United States of America is now by law subject and liable."

Tobacco deposited for Exchequer Loans excepted.

Nothing in this act, however, is to affect any regulation for deposit of tobacco on which exchequer bills shall have been lent.

Additional Duties.

By a further act of the same session of parliament passed and published in October, 1795, it is enacted, that the following additional duties of excise upon tobacco and snuff shall be paid, viz.

For Spanish or Portugal tobacco, imported on or after the seventh day of December, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For

For such tobacco, not warehoused before December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such tobacco in warehouse on December 7, 1795, and delivered out for home consumption, one shilling per pound, and delivered for exportation, one penny per pound.

For Irish or American tobacco, imported on or after December 7, 1795, four pence per pound.

For such tobacco not warehoused before December 7, 1795, four pence per pound.

For such tobacco, in warehouse on December 7, 1795, and delivered out for home consumption, four pence per pound.

For snuff imported by the East India company on or after December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such snuff, not warehoused before December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such snuff, in warehouse on December 7, 1795, on delivery thereof one shilling per pound.

For snuff imported from British America, or the Spanish West Indies, on or after December 7, 1795, six pence per pound.

For such snuff, not warehoused, before December 7, 1795, six pence per pound.

For such snuff, in warehouse on December

R

7, 1795,

vered ; and that the remainder of the said cargo, being manufactured tobacco, shall be delivered free of duty, on due entry being made, for exportation thereof to the port of Hamburgh ; and that all the said tobacco, upon the delivery thereof either for home trade, consumption, or manufacture, or for exportation, as the case may be, shall be subject and liable to the rules, regulations, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, to which tobacco of the growth or production of the United States of America is now by law subject and liable."

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For such tobacco, not warehoused before December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such tobacco in warehouse on December 7, 1795, and delivered out for home consumption, one shilling per pound, and delivered for exportation, one penny per pound.

For Irish or American tobacco, imported on or after December 7, 1795, four pence per pound.

For such tobacco not warehoused before December 7, 1795, four pence per pound.

For such tobacco, in warehouse on December 7, 1795, and delivered out for home consumption, four pence per pound.

For snuff imported by the East India company on or after December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such snuff, not warehoused before December 7, 1795, one shilling per pound.

For such snuff, in warehouse on December 7, 1795, on delivery thereout one shilling per pound.

For snuff imported from British America, or the Spanish West Indies, on or after December 7, 1795, six pence per pound.

For such snuff, not warehoused, before December 7, 1795, six pence per pound.

For such snuff, in warehouse on December

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7, 1795,

7, 1795, on delivery thereout, six pence per pound.

For snuff imported from any other place, on or after December 7, 1795, seven pence per pound.

For such snuff, not warehoused before December 7, 1795, seven pence per pound.

For such snuff, in warehouse on December 7, 1795, seven pence per pound, to be paid on delivery thereout.

These duties are to be under the management of the commissioners of excise; and to be paid as former duties. On contracts additional duties are to be added to the price agreed for.

On exportation of short cut tobacco, shag tobacco, roll tobacco, or carrot tobacco, respectively manufactured from tobacco delivered from any warehouse for home consumption, the following additional drawbacks are to be allowed, viz.

For short cut four pence per pound.

For shag three pence halfpenny per pound.

For roll four pence per pound.

For carrot three pence halfpenny per pound.

The powers of 12 Car. II. Chap. 24, &c. are to extend to this act. The duties are to be carried to the consolidated funds; and are to

be applied in defraying any increased charge occasioned by any loan of this session, and are for ten years, to be kept with other duties granted for the same purpose, separate from other monies.

American tobaccos imported and warehoused, may be removed *duty free* to certain ports for the use of land forces on board ships; but no tobacco so shipped can be reloaded in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, without leave from the proper officers of the customs. Provided that this supply shall be limited to six months, and to two pounds weight per month per man, &c.

These being the principal laws which concern the *fair trader*, I shall omit some which concern only the *professional smuggler*, and the disposal of seizures between his majesty and the officers of customs, &c. The laws which regard *manufacturers* will come under that particular head.

A Summary of the Law concerning the Importation and warehousing of Tobacco and Snuff, as certified to, and reported by, the Select Committee upon the Improvement of the Port of London, June 28, 1799.*

Tobacco.

The acts herein reported to govern the importation and warehousing of tobacco are the 29 Geo. III. cap. 68 ; 30 Geo. III. cap. 40 ; 31 Geo. III. cap. 47.

By the operation of the above acts of parliament, the commerce of tobacco is regulated in the following respects.

It may not be imported into any other than the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, Cowes, Falmouth, Whitehaven, Hull, Newcastle, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and Leith, and may be there warehoused duty free.

It is to be lodged in his majesty's warehouse at the expense of government. If taken there-out for home consumption to pay duty as follows, viz.

* Appendix (E. 1.), p. 105, 2d Report Select Committee.

s. d.

The produce of Ireland, or the British Plantations in, or United States of, America per lb. 0 6 $\frac{6}{20}$

Spanish or Portuguese tobacco, if taken out for exportation . . . per lb. 1 6 $\frac{18}{20}$

Spanish or Portuguese tobacco, per lb. 0 1 $\frac{6}{20}$

After remaining three years, the commissioners of customs or excise may cause the same to be sold.

Snuff.

This article is in like manner regulated by the operation of the following acts of parliament, viz. 29 Geo. III. cap. 68; 30 Geo. III. cap. 40; 31 Geo. III. cap. 47; 33 Geo. III. cap. 57; and 37 Geo. III. cap. 97.

By these laws snuff may not be imported into any other than the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Lancaster, Cowes, Falmouth, Whitehaven, Newcastle, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and Leith.

It may there be lodged in his majesty's warehouses, without payment of any duty, and without expence to the proprietor.

If taken out for home consumption or exportation, to pay duty as follows, viz.

R 3

Of

Of the British plantations in, or the
 United States of, America . . . per lb. $6\frac{6}{8}$
 Of the Spanish West Indies per lb. $6\frac{6}{8}$
 All other per lb. $10\frac{1}{8}$
 Subject also to the duties of excise if taken
 out for home consumption.

After remaining one month, the commis-
 sioners of customs and excise may cause the
 same to be sold.

P A R T VI.

CULTURE AND COMMERCE ACCORDING TO
ANDERSON.

A summary Review of the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco, from the Year 1584 to the Year 1748, inclusive, according to Mr. Anderson.

I HAVE lamented much during my progress in this work, that I found it so difficult to procure a copy of Mr. Anderson's valuable book on commerce, that I began to despair, even in London, that I should be compelled to conclude this undertaking without his assistance. Having at length, however, procured that voluminous book from an inestimable friend, I shall endeavour to collect a summary from it, as concisely as is consistent with my design to disseminate commercial knowledge, and to multiply the resources of useful traffic.

*Tobacco brought first to England by Sir
W. Raleigh.*

Mr. Anderfon recites *, that, Sir Walter (then Mr.) Raleigh, having raised a considerable subscription in London, for the purpose of making a settlement in America, obtained from queen Elizabeth †, on Lady Day, 1584, a charter for that purpose. And having sent captains *Amidas* and Barlow with two vessels to Virginia, they returned with reports highly favourable to the country, bringing home with them pearls, and *tobacco*.

This attempt was followed by another under sir Richard Grenville in the following year, 1585, who attempted to settle a colony at the entrance of Roanoke river, now in North Carolina; but these settlers being much harassed by the Indian natives, and unable to maintain their ground, the remainder of them were taken up by sir Francis Drake, and brought back again to England.

Tobacco brought to England by Mr. Lane.

In 1586, Mr. Lane, one of the Virginia

* Anderfon's Commerce, Vol. II. p. 157.

† See Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. page 33.

adventurers,

adventurers, is said, by some, to have been the first person who brought tobacco to England; and Mr. Anderson here seems to think *, that it might have taken its name from *Tobago* †, one of the Caribbee islands. When we consider, however, the periods at which this island was discovered, settled, and depopulated, this conjecture does not seem probable. This year sir Walter Raleigh fitted out two small vessels for America, at Plymouth; and in the succeeding year, 1587, he fitted out three ships and one hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, who settled at Roanoke, where they found the second colony had been destroyed by the natives: and these, in their turn, being left three years unassisted, removed to *Croatan*, and were supposed to perish wholly, in like manner.

Captain Gosnol's Voyage, 1602.

Captain Gosnol made a voyage in the year 1602, which was the first in sixteen years which had been attempted after sir Walter Raleigh's failure; and he is said to be the first Englishman who ventured a direct route across

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 164.

† See *La Bat's* account on this subject.

the Atlantic ocean, making discoveries upon the coasts commonly called New England; but although he appears to have trafficked with the Indians successfully, we have no account of his finding tobacco in those latitudes.

King James's Proclamation, 1604.

King James I. in the year 1604*, laid on, of his own accord, and without the consent of parliament (which Mr. Anderson very naturally thinks unwarranted), a duty of six shillings and eight pence per lb. over and above two pence per lb. paid before that period.

His majesty seems, however, to have advanced very substantial reasons for this virtual prohibition of tobacco; for if any circumstance can justify what are termed *strong measures* on the part of a government, certainly the wanton luxury and debauchery of its people must be amongst the best apologies for a stretch of power, which might, in other respects, have been deemed arbitrary, and unbecoming a British monarch.

* Anderson's Commerce, Vol. II. p. 223. Fœdra, Vol. XIV. p. 601.

Two Companies of Adventurers established in 1606, by Charter, called the LONDON, and the PLIMOUTH Companies.

From the repeated favourable reports of captain Gosnold, and all others who had been in America from the first discovery to this period, 1606, king James was induced to grant two charters to distinct companies, by the names of the London adventurers, and the Plimouth adventurers. Ships were fitted out by these companies, and the first *permanent* settlements were now made; but we do not, at this period, find any returns in tobacco. The company of London adventurers obtained a confirmation of their charter by the name of *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony of VIRGINIA*, in the year 1610, being the seventh year of king James I*. In 1618, the colony of Virginia is found to increase, and considerable quantities of tobacco were cultivated; "which," says Mr. Anderson †, "now began to be well taken off at home."

* See Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 58.

† Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 274.

King James's Commission for garbling Tobacco.

In 1620, king James, whose great dislike to tobacco seems to be amply recorded, issued a proclamation, of which the following is the preamble, &c *.

“ Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of men's bodies and manners; and yet, nevertheless, holding it, of the two, more tolerable that the same should be imported, amongst many other vanities and superfluities which come from beyond seas, than to be permitted to be planted here within this realm, thereby to abuse and misemploy the soil of this fruitful kingdom: and whereas we have taken into our royal consideration, as well the great waste and consumption of the wealth of our kingdoms, as the endangering and impairing the health of our subjects, by the immoderate liberty and abuse of tobacco, being a weed of no necessary use, and but of late years brought into our dominions: We therefore strictly charge and command that

* *Fœdra*, Vol. XVII. p. 233. *Anderson on Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 284.

our proclamation of December last, restraining the planting of tobacco, be observed, &c.”

The substance of this proclamation, says Mr. Anderson, is given us in the octavo history of Virginia, and is as follows, viz. that the people of Virginia growing numerous, they made so much tobacco as overstocked the market; wherefore the king *out of pity to the country*, commanded that the planters should not make above one hundred weight of tobacco per man; for the market was so low that he could not afford to give them above three shillings per pound for it. The king advised them rather to turn their spare time towards providing corn and stock, and towards making of potash, or other manufactures: this king had assumed the pre-emption of all tobaccos imported, which he again sold out at much higher prices.

This record* continues, “And that no person or persons other than such as shall be authorised by our letters patent, do import into England any tobacco from beyond sea, upon pain of forfeiting the said tobacco, and such further penalties as we shall judge proper to inflict. And to prevent frauds, all tobacco,

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 285.

shall

shall be marked or sealed that shall henceforward be imported."

*Progress of the Virginia Plantations from 1621
to 1624.*

* The settlements in Virginia began now to make rapid progress, one thousand three hundred persons being sent thither by the Virginia company, together with suitable necessaries for the use of the colony; but quarrels with the Indians brought on an unfortunate massacre of about four hundred persons; yet this barbarity was repaid in kind; plantations were laid out; a well regulated country began to make its appearance; and *religion* flourished; (*the sword preceding the gospel!*) churches were mounted upon the back bone of victory. King James, however, still continued his opposition to the culture of *tobacco*; and made great exertions in the next year, 1622, to encourage the culture of mulberry trees, and the propagation of silk worms. In the year 1623, (there being many grievous complaints from the colony of Virginia), king James issued a commission of inquiry of a very extensive nature; for which see *Fædra*, p. 490; or that

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 290.

respectable authority, *Anderson on Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 301.

King James's Prohibition of the Importation of foreign Tobacco—1624.

After reciting the various commissions and charters heretofore granted to the several companies of American adventurers, king James now issued a commission, directing a report of certain information concerning the state of affairs in the colony of Virginia, preparatory to granting *a new charter*; and appointed sir Francis Wyatt governor. And in respect to the culture and commerce of tobacco, he thought fit to issue the following proclamation.

* “Whereas our commons, in their last sessions of parliament became humble petitioners to us, that, for many weighty reasons, much concerning the interest of our kingdom, and the trade thereof, we would by our royal power utterly prohibit the use of all foreign tobacco, which is not of the growth of our own dominions: And whereas we have upon all occasions made known our dislike we have ever had of the use of tobacco in general, as

* *Anderson on Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 309.

tending

tending to the corruption both of the health and manners of our people. Nevertheless because we have been often and earnestly importuned by many of our loving subjects, planters, and adventurers in Virginia and the Somer isles, that, as those colonies are yet but in their infancy, and cannot be brought to maturity, unless we be pleased, for a time, to *tolerate* unto them the planting and vending of their *own growth*; we have *condescended* to their desires: and do therefore hereby strictly prohibit the importation of any tobacco from beyond sea, or from Scotland, into England or Ireland, other than from our colonies before named: moreover we strictly prohibit the planting of any tobacco either in England or Ireland." The rest of this proclamation is said to relate to searching for and burning of foreign tobacco, and marking and sealing the legal tobacco of the colonies.

Death of King James, and Progress of Tobacco under King Charles I.

King James died on the 27th of March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles I. who having ratified his contract of marriage with France in respect to the princess Henrietta

etta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. took possession of the island of St. Christopher's, this year *, jointly with the crown of France; and the first *English* planters employed themselves in raising tobacco.

In this same year king Charles repeated, in the same way of his father, a proclamation against the importation of any tobacco not of the growth of Virginia, or of the Somer isles †.

The Virginia company had by this time raised a capital of two hundred thousand pounds, but disagreeing amongst themselves, many selling out their shares, and others emigrating to Virginia with their families and servants, king Charles thought proper to take the business into his own hands, and to establish a royal government ‡. The primary act of which was by *proclamation*, in substance as follows, viz. "That whereas, in his royal father's time, the charter of the Virginia company was by a *quo warranto* annulled; and whereas his said father was, and he himself also is, of opinion, that the government of that colony by a company incorporated, con-

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 310.

† See Fœdra, Vol. XVIII. p. 19.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.—And. Com. Vol. II. p. 301.

sisting of a multitude of persons of various dispositions, amongst whom affairs of the greatest moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not so proper, for carrying on, prosperously, the affairs of the colony: wherefore, to reduce the government thereof to such a course as might best agree with that form which was held in his royal monarchy; and considering also, that we hold those territories of Virginia and Somer isles, as also that of New England, lately planted, with the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire; we ordain that the government of Virginia shall immediately depend on ourself, and not be committed to any company or corporation, to whom it may be proper to trust matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fit to commit the ordering of state affairs. Wherefore our commissioners for those affairs shall proceed as directed, till we establish a council here for that colony; to be subordinate to our privy council. And that we will also establish another council, to be resident in Virginia; who shall be subordinate to our council here for that colony. And at our charge we will maintain those public officers and ministers, and that strength of men, munition, and fortification, which shall be necessary for the defence of that plantation."

“ And we will also settle and assure the particular rights and interests of every planter and adventurer. Lastly, whereas the tobacco of those plantations (the only present means of their subsisting) cannot be managed for the good of the plantations, unless it be brought into *one hand*, whereby the foreign tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the tobacco of those plantations may yield a certain and ready price to the owners thereof: to avoid all differences between the planters and adventurers themselves, we resolve to take the same into our own hands, and to give such prices for the same as may give reasonable satisfaction, whereof we will determine at better leisure.”

This measure seems to have given a tone to the government of Virginia ; and from the encouragement given by this monarch, by granting lands upon the easy terms of two shillings per annum quit rent, payable to the crown for each hundred acres, many respectable families were induced to emigrate to that country, which is now highly cultivated, its jurisprudence rendered more perfect, and its population amazingly increased.

King Charles, having commenced tobacco
merchant and monopolist, as we have already
seen,

seen, he again thought proper, in 1627, to issue a proclamation, renewing his monopoly more effectually *, by commissioning certain aldermen, &c. of London, “to seize all foreign tobacco, not of the growth of Virginia or Bermudas, for his benefit, agreeable to a former commission: also to buy up for his use all the tobacco coming from our said plantations, and to sell the same again for his benefit.” And in the same month he granted his permission to import fifty thousand pounds weight of Spanish tobacco; with proviso, that it was to be all bought by himself, and resold to his subjects. He restricted the importation of tobacco to the port of London; and, in consideration that great quantities of tobacco were still sown in England, contrary to law, he renewed his former prohibition of planting the same in England.

In the same year he repeated his prohibitory proclamation concerning tobacco, and for securing to himself the sole monopoly thereof.

He enjoins the plucking up of all tobacco growing in England and Ireland, and strictly prohibits the planting any more †.

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 321.—Fœdra, Vol. XVIII. p. 831.

† And. Com. Vol. II. p. 326.

He prohibits the importation of Spanish, or other foreign tobacco, without his especial commission.

And, "because such foreign tobacco should not be uttered under the pretence of being the tobacco of Virginia and the Somer isles, and other English colonies; and that the planters in his said colonies may not give themselves over to the planting of tobacco only, and neglect to apply themselves to solid commodities, fit for the establishment of colonies, which will utterly destroy these and all other plantations: from henceforth no tobacco, even of our own colonies, shall be imported without our own special licence: and what shall be so imported, shall be delivered to our use, upon such reasonable price as shall be agreed on."

"No person shall henceforth buy any tobacco here but from our commissioners: which tobacco shall be sealed or stamped; and when sold again, a note shall be made, expressing the time when bought, and the quantity and quality thereof."

In 1630*, king Charles published another proclamation for prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England and Ireland, and for li-

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 343.

miting the importation of it from Virginia, according to his will, and confining it to the port of London. In the following year, 1631*, he granted a commission to several great officers of state, "to consider of, and report to him, the present state of Virginia, and of the product, commodities, &c. most proper to be raised and advanced in that plantation; and its further settlement and advancement."

Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore.

In 1632, king Charles granted according to promise to sir George Calvert, who, or his son, was about that period created *lord Baltimore*, the proprietary territory of Maryland; but, he dying soon after, his son, Cæcilius lord Baltimore took out the grant in his own name, on the twentieth of June, in the afore-said year.

In 1633, young lord Baltimore carried two hundred persons to his new colony, and having the advantage of supplies from the Virginia settlements south of Potomac, it soon flourished.

† "The tobacco of Maryland, called oroo-

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 345.

† Ibid. p. 352.

noko, being stronger than that of Virginia, is not said to be so agreeable to the British taste as the sweet scented tobacco of the latter colony; but the northern nations of Europe are said to like it better; and Maryland was thought to raise about as much tobacco, and employ near as many ships, as Virginia did. Its soil is generally extremely good, being mostly a *level* country.

Thus Mr. Anderson stated. I incline to transpose his opinion, in some degree, concerning the species of the staple; and I leave those who have travelled through Maryland to decide, whether it is to be called a level country.

Retailers of Tobacco regulated, &c.

In this same year, 1632, king Charles issued a proclamation "for regulating the retailers of tobacco in cities and towns; wherein none but reputable and substantial traders shall retail the same; of whom a catalogue shall be made for each city and town:" and he expressly prohibits "all keepers of taverns, alehouses, inns, victualling houses, strong-water-fellers, &c. from retailing tobacco."

In 1634, he also issued a proclamation

against landing tobacco any where, except at the custom-house quay at London: "for the better preventing the defrauding his majesty of the duty thereon. Also against planting tobacco in England or Ireland, still much practised; and against the importation of tobacco seed."

New Regulations of Virginia in 1636.

* In 1636, king Charles undertook to regulate the affairs of Virginia; he "appoints sir John Harvey to be continued governor thereof; and for him and any three of his council to appoint a commission for the enlargement of its limits; and for finding out what trades may be most necessary to be undertaken for the benefit of the colony. And also to send out forces for subduing the Indians, and to make war or peace, as may best suit the safety of the colony, and our honour. That in case of the governor's death, or his necessary absence, *not to be allowed by less than four of the council there*, one of the council, to be appointed by the rest, shall act in his stead. The governor and council to be subordinate, sub-

* See Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 3.

ject, and obedient, to the lords commissioners and committees here for our plantations, touching the present government of that colony, to whom, as well as to us, the governor shall, on the death of any member of the council, give notice thereof, that we may appoint another in his stead."

These regulations, being the first establishment of the kind, and, in general, the outline of colonial jurisdiction under the regal government, it will be unnecessary to make a further apology for reciting them.

The Origin of Excise upon Tobacco, &c.

In 1643, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, laid a tax for the ensuing year, on beer and ale, in all counties within the limits of their power, "calling it," says Mr. Anderson, "by a new word, *excise*." In this ordinance they also laid a duty of four shillings per pound on foreign tobacco; and two shillings per pound on English tobacco; "and the king's parliament at Oxford," says the same author*, "laid a similar tax upon all within their power, and never met more at all."

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 401.

In the paragraph immediately preceding this account, the author is speaking of the surprise of Antigua by the English in 1745; and he proceeds immediately to a notice of the commerce of *American* tobacco, in a manner which leaves the mind somewhat unsatisfied whether he refers to the chronological period, 1643, of which he is giving an account, or to the digression which he is indulging in regard to the conquest of Antigua: punctuation (of which I do not pretend to judge) impresses me with one idea, and the relative account with another; but in either case his passage is as follows.

“By an ordinance of the lords and commons, the duty on our plantation tobacco was now made four pence per pound weight. Yet in the following year they reduced it to three pence per pound, custom and excise together; “they finding,” (as that ordinance expresses it) “that the duty of four pence had somewhat intermitted the trade in that commodity. Which shews,” says Mr. Anderson, “that tobacco was by this time become a trade worth the encouragement of parliament.” I incline to conclude that he means the year 1643.

The Growth of Tobacco in England prohibited by the Rump Parliament in 1652, and from thence, and ultimately, in 1660.

About the middle of this century, tobacco seems to have grown into much greater esteem than formerly in England; considerable quantities were planted in several counties, which throve exceeding well, and proved very good in its kind: "but," says Mr. Anderson*, "as this not only lessened the duty on the importation of tobacco, but likewise greatly obstructed the sale of that commodity from our own colonies of Virginia, &c. which had cost so much expence in planting them; the loud complaints of the planters occasioned an act of the rump parliament, in this year, 1652, absolutely prohibiting the planting of any in England. Cromwell and his council, in the year 1654, appointed commissioners for strictly putting this act in execution: and that we may not have recourse again to this subject, in the twelfth year of king Charles II. chapter 34, in the year 1660, it was legally enacted, that from the first of January, 1660-1, no person

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 420.

whatever

whatever should sow or plant any tobacco in England, under certain penalties. So that an end was effectually put to that practice."

"This act of parliament," continues this author, "takes notice of the great concern and importance of the colonies and plantations of England in America; and that all due and possible encouragement should be given to them; not only as great dominions have thereby been added to the imperial crown of England, but also, that the strength and welfare of the kingdom very much depend on them, in regard to the employment of a considerable part of its shipping and seamen, and of the vent of very great quantities of its native commodities and manufactures; as also of their supplying us with many commodities, formerly furnished us by foreigners. And forasmuch as tobacco is one of the main products of several of those plantations, it is hereby prohibited to be planted in England or Ireland, as depriving the king of a considerable part of his revenue by customs. Besides, that tobacco of our own growth is, by experience, found not to be so wholesome as our plantation tobacco.

"The first earl of Clarendon (lord chancellor), in his own defence upon his impeachment

ment in parliament, observed, that, soon after king Charles's restoration, he used all the endeavours he could for preparing and disposing his majesty to have a great esteem for his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them: and that he was confirmed in his said opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries at the custom-house, by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations: insomuch, that the receipts from thence had, upon the matter, repaired the decrease of the customs, which the late troubles have brought upon other parts of the trade."

The first charter for planting the country, theretofore named *Carolana*, was granted by Charles II. by the more modern name of *Carolina*, on the 24th day of March, 1662-3; and in the year 1663, Cap. XVII. 15 Car. II. it was enacted*, that no merchandize of the growth or manufacture of Europe should be imported into America in any other than English bottoms; and that no tobacco of the growth of the English plantations should be carried any where, other than from plantation to plantation, before it had been first landed in

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 475.

England, under forfeiture of ship and cargo. There were, however, some few exceptions to the general principle of European exportation, which it is not material to notice.

Mr. Anderson further recites again at this period, “ And forasmuch as the planting tobacco in England doth continually increase notwithstanding the act of the twelfth year of this king, Cap. XXXIV. a further penalty of ten pounds is laid for every rood or pole of land so planted, either in England, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey : excepting, however, tobacco planted in the physic gardens of either University, or in the private gardens for surgery, so as the quantity so planted exceed not half a pole of land in any one garden.”

Notwithstanding all former prohibitions, the planting of tobacco in England was found to continue in the year 1670 *, when another act was passed, whereby the peace officers were required to search for and destroy tobacco wheresoever they found it growing, except in the physic gardens, &c. as before mentioned. A clause was added to this act, whereby it became necessary to land tobacco solely in England before it was conveyed elsewhere ; and by

* And. Com. Vol. II. p. 502.

this law, the kingdom of Ireland became precluded from the commerce of tobacco, through any other means of importation than that of a previous landing in England.

Commerce of Tobacco under King James II.

Hitherto it appears*, that tobacco had been *taxed* only under the general name of *poundage*; but parliament now stepped forward and granted a tax upon *tobacco*, *nominally*; so that, by this law, government drew an increase of revenue from this resource, over and above the former demand of one shilling in the pound, or *five per cent. poundage*.

So far the proceedings of the year 1685, which seems to be every thing that concerned the commerce of tobacco materially during the reign of this monarch. But the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by the French king, brought on an emigration, which, under the patronage of the crown, about five years after, proved of material consequence to Virginia and the tobacco trade.

* 1 Jac. II. Cap. IV.—See And. Com. Vol. II. p. 571.

Progress under King William.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes occasioned a number of French families to take refuge under the protection of the crown of England; and king William having afforded them his patronage, and granted them lands in Virginia, in 1690, a settlement was formed by them at the Manakin towns, formerly occupied by the aborigines of the soil, and which is one of the most fertile and eligible tracts of country in all America. It is situated on the south bank of James's river, a few miles above the *falls*; and must have proved a strong barrier against Indian encroachments upon the English settlements, as well as the means of considerable supplies; and the respectable families who still inhabit that tract, mostly by descent from the original emigrants, furnish an ample testimony at the present period, 1799, that whatever accumulation the tobacco trade might have received from the increase of numbers, which the population of Virginia received from them, they were not unmindful of those more essential employments which are among the early requisites of colonization.

In this same year, 1690, the governor of
New

New York in alliance with the Irroquois Indians, made an attempt upon Quebec.

Commerce of Tobacco under Queen Anne, &c.

In Doctor D'Avenant's Report to the Commissioners of Accounts, Part I. p. 32, London, 1712 *, the total importation of tobacco from America into England, is stated, at a medium of ten years, ending in 1709, as follows.

	lb.
Imported on a medium, yearly	28,858,666
Exported on a like medium	17,598,007
Consumed in lbs. at home	11,260,659

In a former part of this work I have taken notice of the progressive improvements on the method of rolling tobacco to market, for which the Virginians have the merit of some originality. About the year 1715, we find *pig* and *bar iron* manufactured in that country †; a circumstance which must have been highly favourable to both the culture and conveyance of this commodity, as it must have furnished them with means at hand for increas-

* And. Com. Vol. III. p. 34.

† Ibid. p. 63.

ing a quantum of produce which must have been much restricted by the delays of importation (not to speak of its disappointments), where importation is wholly depended on for a supply of implements which must have been continually in demand, and continually varying with the unforeseen casualties of new adventures.

In, or about the year 1730*, the British colonists of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, seem to have discovered mines of iron and lead, and to have built furnaces, forges, and plating mills for drawing out bar iron; the people of New York had also discovered copper before this period; and it would seem reasonable to suppose that new adventures in these subjects of speculation must have not only afforded considerable auxiliaries to agriculture, and to the commerce of the tobacco staple, but they must also have had a tendency to quiet popular clamours by engaging the public attention in a greater variety of interests, which on all hands presented subjects of novelty to the fiscal genius of the realm. Add to these colonial engagements, we now find New England prosperous in the whale fish-

* And. Com. Vol. III. p. 162.

eries, Carolina in the culture of rice, and Georgia admitted to the benefits of this latter staple by an act of the 8th of Geo. II. Cap. XIX*.

A pamphlet published in London in 1731, entitled, *The Importance of the British Plantations in America to this Kingdom, &c.* which Mr. Anderson has quoted in his third volume, p. 167, has the following remark, after displaying all the advantages of the West India islands in detail: "And, to say the truth, were it not for the prevention of pirates settling there, none of these isles would be worth our while to keep a governor, forts, and garrison therein," viz. chiefly at Providence, "*considering how many finer colonies we have still to improve.*"

"What our author says of Carolina," says Mr. Anderson†, "by no means comes up with what we have elsewhere related from very good authority, to which we refer."

"Virginia and Maryland are most valuable acquisitions to Britain, as well for their great staple commodity, tobacco, as for some pitch, tar, furs, deer skins, walnut tree planks, iron in pigs, and medicinal drugs.

"Maryland is of the same nature and pro-

* See And. Com. Vol. III. p. 164.

† And. Com. Vol. III. p. 170.

duce as Virginia ; and both together send over annually to great Britain sixty thousand hogheads of tobacco, weighing one with another six hundred pounds weight, which at two pence halfpenny per pound comes to three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds." And he thinks that the shipping employed to bring home their tobacco must then have been at least twenty-four thousand tons, which, at ten pounds per ton, is two hundred and forty thousand pounds, the value of the shipping ; the greatest part thereof, by far, being English built, continually and constantly fitted and repaired in England. The freight at one pound ten shillings per hoghead (the lowest) is ninety thousand pounds ; and the petty charges and commissions on each hoghead, not less than one pound, or sixty thousand pounds. Which two last named sums jointly, viz. one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, Britain undoubtedly received from those two provinces, upon tobacco only. The nett proceeds of the tobacco will be two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. All which was returned in goods ; only there would further remain with England about five per cent. commission and petty charges on the said goods, being eleven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds. There must have been
3 further

further imported in the tobacco ships from those two provinces, lumber to the value of fifteen thousand pounds; two thirds whereof was clear gain, it not costing four thousand pounds in that country, first cost in goods; and, as it was the master's privilege, there was no freight paid for it. Skins and furs about six thousand pounds value; four thousand pounds of which was actual gain to England. So the whole *gain to England* amounted to about one hundred and eighty thousand pounds annually.

In 1738, sir William Keith, in his history of Virginia, p. 174, in stating the revenue of Virginia, estimates the duty of two shillings per hoghead upon tobacco at the annual rate of three thousand two hundred pounds, arising upon the yearly exportation of thirty-two thousand hogheads.

“In the year 1740*,” says Mr. Anderson, “it appeared by the information of persons of worth, concerned in the two British colonies of Virginia and Maryland, that about two hundred British ships were annually and constantly employed in that trade, viz. about eighty or ninety sail for Virginia, and about one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty

* And. Com. Vol. III. p. 226.

to Maryland: that the ships trading thither from the out-ports of Great Britain, were generally of a leffer burden than were those from the port of London. And that of about thirty thousand hogheads of tobacco, annually imported from those two colonies into Great Britain, eighteen thousand were brought in the London ships. Also this computation was exclusive of the vessels employed by those two colonies in their trade with the other British, continental, and island colonies of America."

The currency of the paper money in circulation in the American continental colonies was regulated in this year, 1740, as follows*.

	£. Currency.	
<i>New England</i> , containing Massachusets, Connecticut, Rhode island, and New Hampshire	525	} For £.100 Sterling.
New York, and the Jerseys	160	
Pennsylvania	170	
Maryland	200	
North Carolina	1400	
South Carolina	800	

Delaware and Virginia seem not to have needed this regulation.

It only now remains in summing up the

* See And. Com. Vol. III. p. 227.

history of this sacred plant for the first two centuries (wanting six years) after the introduction of it into Europe, to take a conclusive view of Mr. Anderson's account of the tobacco trade in the year 1748. It appears from his statements *, that the custom-house books for 1744, 1745, and 1746 (omitting the odd hundred thousands), recognize a medium importation of forty millions of pounds weight of tobacco from the American plantations. And that, by the like medium of three years, there was exported thirty-three millions: so that England annually consumed seven millions of pounds weight of tobacco.

£. s. d.

If England alone were to pay the duty of four pence three farthings per pound on the said forty millions of pounds, it would amount, in sterling, to . . . 791,666 13 4

But as thirty-three millions of pounds are annually exported, and the whole duty thereof drawn back, the duty is to be deducted 653,125 0 0

* And. Com. Vol. III. p. 265.

So the nett duty of seven
millions consumed in Eng-
land, amounts to

£.138,541 13 4

“ Now,” says Mr. Anderson,
“ valuing the thirty-three mil-
lions of pounds of tobacco at
six pence per pound, that will
be

. 825,000 0 0

“ And if Scotland may be al-
lowed to export annually seven
millions of pounds, that, at six
pence per pound likewise

. 175,000 0 0

“ There will then be forty
millions annually exported
from Great Britain, which,
at six pence per pound, is

£.1,000,000 0 0

“ Which said million sterling may be deemed
to be all *clear gain to the nation*, over and above
this trade’s giving employment to about twen-
ty-five thousand tons of British shipping.”

Some other accounts, which (as Mr. An-
derson observes) should be read with caution
in regard to their objects, make the importa-
tion of tobacco into Great Britain at this pe-
riod, 1748, to be about eighty thousand hogf-
heads

heads annually, one year with another, weighing nine hundred pounds each, or seventy-two millions of pounds; one fourth part whereof is supposed to be consumed at home, and the remaining fifty-four millions annually exported for foreign consumption.

Others have made the annual importation about that period, amount to about sixty-two thousand hogheads of tobacco, or fifty-five millions eight hundred thousand pounds weight; and that twelve thousand hogheads thereof are consumed in England; which if all paid the duty of four pence three farthings per pound weight, would yield two hundred and thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifteen pounds to the crown.

A supplementary Review of the Commerce of Tobacco, from the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, to the close of the American War in 1783.

The information that is to be collected chiefly from Mr. Anderson's voluminous history of commerce, which is suitable for the elucidation of this specific traffick, seems to break off at this period, 1748; and the traces which I afterwards find upon the subject are less perfectly connected than I had hopes of finding them. I am therefore necessitated to leave a blank in the chronological order, which I could have wished to have filled, or at most to rely on an aggregate statement for that approximate data which time and circumstances compel me to substitute in lieu of the actual imports, exports, and consumption, of tobacco, for the period which intervenes between 1748 and 1771.

A comparison of the total imports and exports which composed the materials of trade at that period, between England on the one part, and her colonies of Virginia and Maryland on the other, will afford the means of information by the help of lateral inquiry;
and

and when the relative proportion of former periods is ascertained, which discriminates the quantity of tobacco from the annual aggregate of merchandize, I apprehend a measure will be obtained to form an average calculation by, which will not vary far from the truth.

Under this persuasion, I have consulted Sir Charles Whitworth's commercial works, and trust the following table will both serve the occasion, and furnish a sufficient number of examples to answer many other useful purposes.

A Comparison of the Imports and Exports made by Great Britain from and to Virginia and Maryland, while under colonial Jurisdiction; with the annual Balances in favour of the respective Countries, from 1697 to 1773 inclusive.

Year	Imports.			Exports.			Balance in favour of Imports.			Balance in favour of Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1697	227756	11	4	58796	10	11	168960	0	5			
1698	174053	4	5	310135	0	0				136081	15	7*
1699	198115	16	10	205078	0	2½				6962	3	4½
1700	317302	12	11½	173481	10	4	143821	2	7½			
1701	235738	18	4½	199683	2	3½	36055	16	1½			
1702	274782	14	9½	72391	13	11½	202391	0	10			
1703	144928	3	1½	196713	9	8½				51785	6	7½
1704	264112	15	9½	60458	11	1	203654	4	8¾			
1705	116768	17	8½	174322	17	3½				57553	19	7
1706	149152	10	1	58015	12	1¼	91136	17	11½			
1707	207625	8	5	237901	0	3¾				30275	11	10¾
1708	213493	4	1¾	79061	1	1¼	134432	3	0½			
1709	261668	18	7¼	80268	15	9½	181400	2	9¾			
1710	188429	8	6	127639	0	5¼	60790	8	0¼			
1711	273181	4	1½	91535	11	3¾	181645	12	9¾			
1712	297941	9	4	134583	10	2¾	163357	19	1¼			
1713	206263	12	11½	76304	11	3¾	129959	1	7¾			
1714	280470	15	8¼	128873	10	10¾	151597	4	10			
1715	174756	4	6	199274	17	1				24518	12	7
1716	281343	4	7	179599	17	7	101743	7	0			
1717	296884	2	7	215962	19	9	80921	2	10			
1718	316576	7	5	191925	0	7	124651	6	10			
1719	332069	14	1	164630	15	4	167438	18	9			
1720	331482	2	5	110717	17	10	220764	4	7			
1721	357812	0	11	127376	15	10	230435	5	1			
1722	283091	13	8	172754	10	5	110337	3	3			
1723	287997	6	8	123853	2	1	164144	4	7			
1724	277344	7	2	161894	6	2	115450	1	0			
1725	214730	2	2	195884	11	6	18845	10	8			
1726	324767	16	4	185981	18	8	138785	17				
1727	421588	2	6	192965	6	10	228622	15	8			
1728	413089	9	9	171092	8	2	241997	1	7			
1729	386174	18	6	108931	0	7	277443	17	11			
1730	346823	2	3	150931	6	5	195891	15	10			
1731	408502	14	1	171278	1	5	237224	12	8			
1732	310799	11	6	148289	3	8	162510	7	10			
1733	403198	18	10	186177	13	7	217021	5	3			
1734	373090	16	10	172086	8	9	201004	8	1			

* Virginia only.

Year

Year	Imports.			Exports.			Balance in favour of Imports.			Balance in favour of Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1735	394995	12	5	220381	6	9	174614	5	8			
1736	380163	9	9	204794	12	8	175368	17	1			
1737	492246	9	10	211301	12	3	280944	17	7			
1738	391814	15	0	258860	8	0	132954	7	0			
1739	444654	10	2	217200	1	4	227454	8	10			
1740	341997	10	11	281428	10	11	60569	0	0			
1741	577109	1	4	248582	17	1	328526	4	3			
1742	427769	8	4	264186	2	5	163583	5	11			
1743	557821	0	10	328195	0	5	229626	0	5			
1744	402709	15	0	234855	18	4	167853	16	8			
1745	399423	6	3	197799	12	3	201623	14	0			
1746	419371	15	0	282545	8	7	136826	6	5			
1747	492619	6	7	200088	16	10	292530	9	9			
1748	494852	9	5	252624	16	3	242227	13	2			
1749	434618	15	8	323600	6	2	111018	9	6			
1750	508939	1	10	349419	18	3	159519	3	7			
1751	460085	16	9	347027	0	7	113058	16	2			
1752	569453	14	6	325151	13	2	244302	1	4			
1753	632574	4	8	356776	11	3	275797	13	5			
1754	573435	6	1	323513	19	2	249921	6	11			
1755	489668	17	10	285157	4	5	204511	13	5			
1756	337759	18	6	334897	8	6	2862	10	0			
1757	418881	12	3	426687	3	10				7805	11	7
1758	454362	15	4	438471	17	8	15890	17	8			
1759	357228	7	4	459007	0	1				101778	12	9
1760	504451	4	11	605882	19	5				101431	14	6
1761	455083	0	2	545350	14	6				90267	14	4
1762	415709	10	9	417599	15	6				1890	4	9
1763	642294	2	9	555391	12	10	86902	9	11			
1764	559408	15	1	515192	10	6	44216	4	7			
1765	505671	9	9	383224	13	0	122446	16	9			
1766	461693	9	4	372548	16	1	89144	13	3			
1767	437926	15	0	437628	2	6	298	12	6			
1768	406048	13	11	475954	6	2				69905	12	3
1769	361892	12	0	488362	15	1				126470	3	1
1770	435094	9	7	717782	17	3				282688	7	8
1771	577848	16	6	920326	3	8				342477	7	8
1772	528404	10	6	793910	13	2				265506	7	2
1773	589803	14	5	328904	15	8	260898	18	9			

In the year 1772, being the last but one which is comprehended in the foregoing table, (and which leaves a chasm of twenty-three years before it, which the pressure of time will not permit me to seek the means of filling

ing up specifically) we find that the tobacco* which was imported from Virginia and Maryland into Great Britain, was 54,915,282 lb. into England; and 42,883,981 lb. into Scotland; making a total importation for this year, amounting to 97,799,263 lb. and the exportations for this same year, were, from England 7458 lb. and none exported from Scotland: the British consumption, confined to this year, must, therefore, have been 97,791,805 lb. The imports of tobacco into Great Britain in 1773 were 100,472,007 lb. 55,928,957 lb. were imported by England, and the residue of 44,543,050 lb. by Scotland.

The exports for this year were 50,386,925 lb. from England, and 46,389,518 lb. from Scotland, making a total export of 96,776,443 lb. so that the consumption of Great Britain, for the year 1773, may be reckoned at 3,695,564 lb. of tobacco, although the exports from Scotland exceeded her imports.

The importation for the next year, 1774, was, into England 56,048,957 lb. into Scotland 41,397,252 lb. making a total importation into Great Britain of 97,397,252 lb.

The exportation from Great Britain for this

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. IV. p. 447.

same

same year, was, from England 44,819,851 lb. and from Scotland 33,857,064 lb. making a total exportation from Great Britain of 78,676,915 lb. so that the home consumption for this year may be estimated at 18,698,337 lb. of tobacco.

As this was the last year of a good understanding between Great Britain and her colonies, it is not to be wondered at if irregularities should be found to follow this period of disquiet until the contending claims of jurisprudence were adjusted by an acknowledged right of jurisdiction in which both parties discovered their true interest. The tobacco trade, however, seems to have strove hard to avoid a part in the disagreements of policy; for however far these contentions might have advanced, or howsoever much the non-remittance of the American trade may have been inveighed against by popular pretensions, the public records evince, even in 1775, when hostilities had commenced, that the importations of tobacco did not diminish until the following year impeded it by bloodshed and confusion. But this period affords a new epoch in human events, which demands a distinct consideration.

*State of the Tobacco Trade at the Commencement
of the War between Great Britain and Ame-
rica, 1775.*

It appears from a supplementary work, forming a fourth volume of Mr. Anderson's History of Commerce, that the tobacco trade directly between Great Britain and her American colonies before the revolution was but little inferior to what it is indirectly at present (1799), yet it is not fully returned; "for," says this author*, "the imports into Great Britain from Virginia and Maryland, before the war, were ninety-six thousand hogsheads of tobacco, of which thirteen thousand five hundred were consumed at home; and the duty on them at twenty-six pounds one shilling each, amounted to three hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds: the remaining eighty-two thousand five hundred were exported by our merchants to different parts of Europe, and brought a great deal of money into this kingdom. This trade alone constantly employed three hundred and thirty ships; and three thousand nine hundred and sixty sailors." This year, 1775, a

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. IV. p. 187.

bill received the royal assent, which went to restrain and limit the trade of these two colonies (in common with the rest) to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West India islands.

A bill was in like manner passed this year, *to prohibit all Trade with the American Colonies then in actual Rebellion, during the Continuation thereof.*

This act necessarily operated to interdict the whole commerce of tobacco between Great Britain and America; and after various clamours from those concerned, and a partial injury to the British revenue for the space of three years, in 1779 it was judged expedient to repeal so much of several acts of parliament as prohibited the growth and produce of tobacco in Ireland, and to permit the importation of tobacco of the growth and produce of that kingdom into Great Britain.

Such were the results of that interruption to the regular channel of commerce, which is always inseparable from the violent agitations of every momentous revolution in the system of national jurisprudence; but although war or legal restraint may, for a while, avert the accustomed course of commerce, nature is ever struggling to reclaim her pre-eminence when

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the impediments of disorganization shall be removed. Of this position the American revolution affords a very striking example; for although the regular channel of the tobacco trade was obstructed whensoever the maxim *dum armis silent leges* prevailed, yet we find a portion of it surmounting this difficulty through the whole revolutionary period, by some means or other; and the balance returning to Britain among the blessings of peace.

The two following tables will exhibit this progress more particularly, and shew, in some degree, the relations which subsisted between the prospect of conciliation and the prosperity of commerce.

An Account of Tobacco imported into England, exported from thence, and consumed at Home, during a period of ten Years, from 1773 to 1783, including the American War by which this Commerce was greatly interrupted.

Year.	Pounds weight Imported	Pounds weight Exported.	Pounds weight Consumed.
1773	55928957	50386925	
1774	56048393	44819851	
1775	55965463	43880865	
*1776	7275037	16521412	Exports exceed.
*1777	2146051	2905406	Exports exceed.
1778	9077153	2068175	
1779	14017431	3704436	
1780	12299172	2823005	
1781	11386725	3950815	
1782	7203262	2529146	See detail p.296.
Total	231347644	173590036	57757608

* The years 1776 and 1777 shew a greater exportation than importation, by a balance of 10,005,730 lb. consequently it would seem as if so much tobacco must either have been cultivated in England during those two years, smuggled into that kingdom, or exported out of old stock on hand, which might have failed of the usual annual consumption through the turbulency of the times.

The importation into England from 1777

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to

to 1782, inclusive, was 56,129,794 lb. of tobacco. In 1777 the captures of tobacco commenced; and in the six years as above, the *prizes* in tobacco amounted to 33,974,949 lb. so that the balance of 22,154,845 lb. only (great part whereof appears to have been cultivated elsewhere than in the United States) may be considered as fairly imported by the *equitable proprietors*. I leave *captors* to reflect on the integrity of this traffic at their leisure; and to contemplate the miseries which privateering produces, when their cooler moments afford them time to calculate the product of honest industry upon justifiable principles.

Account of Tobacco imported into Scotland, exported from thence, and consumed at Home, during a period of ten Years, from 1773 to 1783, including the American War, by which this Commerce was greatly interrupted.

Year.	Imported.		Exported.		Consumed.
	Manufact.	Unmanufac.	Manufac.	Unmanufact.	
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
1773	0	44543050	41783	46347735	Exports exceed.
1774	30	41348295	62742	33794322	
1775	0	45863154	95352	30228949	
1776	100	7423363	234216	23467162	Exports exceed
1777	267	294896	109009	5406668	Exports exceed.
1778	6	2884374	77986	2296622	
1779	12	3138464	128923	2339649	
1780	157	5125638	102304	3024867	
1781	100	1952243	213322	1574735	
1782	175	2624807	233458	700837	See p. 296.
Total	847	155198284 847	1399095	149181946 1399095	
		155199131		150581041	4618090

Thus we find the total im- lb.
portation into Scotland, for the
said ten years, was 155,199,131

The total exportation for ditto 150,581,041

There would be consumed, of
course, for ditto 4,610,090

But as the exportations for 1773, 1776, and
1777, very far exceeded the importations for

those years, the presumption is suggested, in like manner as in the case of England, that 23,344,897 lb. must either have been home produce for those three years, smuggled in in that time, or remaining of the old stock through an interruption of the usual consumption; and that there is a mystery in this business which is not yet accounted for to government. The facts on which this surmise occurs are as follows.

	lb.	lb.
1773. Unmanufactured	46,347,735	
Manufactured	41,783	
Exported	46,389,518	
Imported	44,543,050	
Excess of exports		1,846,468
1776. Unmanufactured	23,467,162	
Manufactured	234,216	
Exported	23,701,378	
Imported	7,423,463	
Excess of exports		16,277,915
1777. Unmanufactured	5,406,668	
Manufactured	109,009	
Exported	5,515,677	
Imported	295,163	
Excess of exports		5,220,514
Total excess		23,344,897
		Probability,

Probability, therefore, countenances the conclusion, that Great Britain consumes much more tobacco than she has been supposed to do; and that the means which support this extra luxury are unknown to the fiscal department.

In 1781 an act was passed for laying an additional duty upon tobacco imported into Great Britain; and the following statement will shew the quantities brought into that kingdom from America, and returned again in exports, notwithstanding the interruptions of the then existing war between the two countries: it will also shew from whence those deficiencies were made up which the nature of the war had occasioned.

An Account of Tobacco imported into, and exported from, Great Britain for one year, viz. from Christmas 1781, to Christmas 1782.

Countries from whence Tobacco was, now, imported, &c.	England.		Scotland.	
	Imported.	Exported.	Imported.	Exported.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
Africa		54447		
Denmark and Norway		50497	1408	
East Country		15443		
East Indies		24115		
Flanders	8017	107452	2318	
France		124748		
Germany	24938	129915		
Holland		14907	3212	
Ireland		1048769		922875
Isle of Man		30370		
Russia		1364		
Sweden		3983	11750	
Canada		64647		1394
Carolina	46810	600		
Florida	105291			
Hudson's Bay		1694		
Newfoundland		32580		4905
New York	224562	108	1025751	120
Nova Scotia	61911	365		
Antigua	118169	420	3310	600
Anguilla	122586			
Barbadoes	4578	1713		238
Jamaica	71130	9302		3667
Nevis		172		
St. Kitts	1928			
St. Lucia	42039	367		306
St. Thomas	289402	1268		280
Tortola	3274909	343	1505057	
New Orleans	18570			
Bermudas			72170	
Total	7203262	2529146	2624982	934295

Summary.

Summary.

	lb.
Imported into Great Britain	9,828,244
Exported from ditto	3,463,441
Consumed at home	6,364,803

In 1782 an act was passed to explain an act made in the 12th year of king Charles II. (entitled *An Act for prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing, of Tobacco in England or Ireland*), and to permit the use and removal of tobacco, the growth of *Scotland*, into England, for a limited time, under certain restrictions.

By this law the recited act was extended to Scotland; a report was to be made to the collector and comptroller of his majesty's customs for Scotland, of all tobacco either in possession, being the actual growth of that country, or being then actually growing; and the like duties were imposed which had been theretofore laid upon American tobacco; such tobacco was prohibited from a removal into England by land, but was permitted to be conveyed thither by water under certain restrictions, the hogsheds being marked on the outside with the words SCOTS TOBACCO.

A penalty was annexed to the crime of altering the legal marks and certificates; and tobacco

tobacco removed otherwise than duly entered, marked, and certified, according to this act, together with the cattle and carriages which were used for its conveyance, became forfeited.

Duties were also to be paid upon this tobacco without any discount; the produce of such duties was to be substituted in lieu of the suspended duties upon American tobacco; nor was any drawback to be allowed on exportation.

Under this act the people of Scotland were encouraged in the experiment of planting tobacco; but through various causes (some of which are perhaps better understood in Virginia than in England), this project seems to have failed of success; and the succeeding parliament thought it advisable to pass a law by which four pence per pound was allowed to the planter for all such his tobacco as, on account of its inferior quality, or other defect, was insufficient to support the payment of duties.

It is said, also, that this business ultimately terminated in the use of the public knife, as an instrument of dispatch in maturing the crop: I am induced to think another reason merits a place in the agricultural register—*Scotland is farther north than England!*

In the happy period of 1783, when the war between the two countries terminated, and a pacific disposition presented the olive branch of peace to the industry of commerce and the independence of the American states, the stars of a new people were displayed in the river Thames; an act of amendment was passed for the better securing of the duties arising upon the commerce of tobacco; the serious attention of the British nation became engaged in the nurture of its ancient traffic, and bid fair to repair the damages which an injured revenue had received from an unprofitable suspension of the trade: it will be the office of the following pages to review the profitable result of this most favourable accommodation.

A Sketch of the Commerce of Tobacco between England and America, &c. from the Treaty of Peace 1783, to the present Year 1799.

Thus far we have taken a review of the commerce of tobacco, in respect to England and America, from the earliest period to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748; from that period to the commencement of the American war in 1775; and through that war to the peace of 1783. It remains to examine the state of this commerce from the latter period
up

up to the present time ; which will leave but little of this history to be hereafter unfolded, from the earliest introduction of tobacco to the end of the eighteenth century.

By comparing the imports and exports of the respective periods which I have stated, we may obtain a tolerable estimate of the quantity of tobacco which has been actually consumed in Great Britain in the course of each year successively ; and by comparing the three periods of importation which existed in this kingdom antecedent to the American war, during that war, and since the return of a happy peace, we may be better able to learn and improve the true reciprocity of interest which subsists between the two countries through the medium of national commerce,

The following statement will exhibit the actual importations from 1783, to the present year 1799 *.

* The reader in this place will observe, that although the deficit of importation between the quantity of average imports before and after the American war is considerable, yet this is not a deficit in the trade of Britain to America ; because much British capital is stationary in America, from whence English remittances are made into Hamburgh and other neutral ports,

*An Account of the Quantity of Tobacco imported
into Great Britain in the following Years.*

	lb.		lb.
1783	19,579,581	1791	52,517,738
1784	43,492,302	1792	44,057,916
1785	43,255,741	1793	24,957,034
1786	45,379,795	1794	33,070,076
1787	39,600,404	1795	22,576,212
1788	48,831,232	1796	23,608,775
1789	59,154,456	1797	26,833,870
1790	57,575,923	1798	40,652,603

The peace between England and the United States of America took place in the year 1783, and it will be readily accounted for why the importation did not return immediately into its antient channel. In this year it amounted to the quantity of nineteen millions five hundred and seventy-nine thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds weight only; which left a deficit of 80,319,533 lb. the average importation, immediately preceding the war, being estimated at 99,899,114 lb. From thence to the year 1793, including the nine years immediately following that of pacification, we find the imports amount to an annual average of 48,207,278 $\frac{5}{8}$ lb. which wants, however, 51,691,835 $\frac{4}{5}$ lb. per

per annum to equal the last three years of colonial commerce with that country.

For five years immediately following the year 1792, we find that the average annual importation amounted to no more than 26,409,193 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of tobacco; but in the following year, 1798, we find the importation of this article returning to the amount of 40,652,603 lb.

Now, if, as some conjecture, the mere cause of a fluctuating market had produced this effect, we should have discovered an *excess* of importation in some one year or other; instead of which there seems to be grounds to suspect, that the depredation of French privateering has been more successful than has been generally imagined; and that the tobacco trade partly regained its level in the last year the success of naval victory.

There is another circumstance, however, which should not only account for deficiencies of American tobacco, but which should call the prudential considerations of commerce to anticipate the means of a suitable succedaneum: the culture of tobacco in America has greatly given place to wheat and other staples; nor does it, in any part, keep pace with the progress of population.

If

If we may be permitted to notice the *general* state of commerce, in these times of delicate investigation, we may observe that Mr. Chalmers* states the *outward* trade of 1783 and 1784 as follows.

	<i>Ships cleared.</i>		<i>Value of Cargo.</i>
	Tons Eng.	Tons for.	£.
1783	795,669	157,969	13,851,671
1784	846,355	113,064	14,171,375

I mention this statement because we may happen to have a future occasion to compare the relative proportion of the tobacco trade of these years; and, without commenting warmly upon the author's statement concerning the United States, it gives me pleasure to add his acknowledgment, that the English nation *profited* by the return of peace, in the comparison which he has drawn between the exports and imports of the averaged years 1771, 1772, 1773, and the first year after the conciliatory epoch, 1784.

	Exports to U. S. A.	Imports from U. S. A.
In 1771-2-3	£.3,064,843	£.1,322,532
In 1784	£.3,359,864	£. 701,189†

* Chalmers's Estimate (1794), p. 145, 146, 147.

† As the English merchants *continue* their trade with America, it is fair to presume these balances have been discharged by remittances, unknown to Mr. Chalmers; for commerce does not thrive upon bad debts.

I am,

I am, here, somewhat puzzled to analyse the heterogene of this gentleman's argument in striking the balance of trade, for in one and the same paragraph * he flatters himself with having removed all cause for saying, that England has *lost the American commerce* by the independence of the United States; and yet he laments the attempt of the latter to be *great traders without great CAPITAL*: I could wish this word were less indefinite, that I might better understand him. If he means to imply the idea of a paper circulation bottomed upon imaginary wealth in another person's cellar, it is certainly a very crazy foundation for a structure of commercial security; but it has been my *misfortune* to have heretofore supposed that a great extent of fertile region, and a rapid increase of agricultural production, such as the United States possess, were the most substantial corner-stones of the edifice called *finance*, which is the asylum of an extensive trade.

In 1785 the tobacco merchants of London, Bristol, and Glasgow, petitioned parliament concerning the state of this traffic; and, as the accuracy of *commercial* calculations affords

* Chalmers's Estimate, 1784, p. 148.

the most satisfactory kind of information, we may, perhaps, rely on their statements as exact; or, at least, as the nearest approximate to precision: they represented to the House of Commons, in strong and explicit terms, that, during the prosperous state of American commerce (in, what the planters used to call, *good times*), that the imports of America into Great Britain, at prime cost, amounted to £.1,500,000 per annum; of which £.700,000 consisted of tobacco. As reasons for encouraging this trade, they added, that the market of *France* afforded annually a sale for twenty-five thousand hogsheads of tobacco; but that she had not been able to obtain more from America, in the preceding year, than twelve hundred hogsheads, notwithstanding that she had made great exertions.

That *Holland* (including the market of Germany, which she usually supplied), could vend eighteen thousand hogsheads per annum; but that she had only received five thousand hogsheads from America in the preceding year; and that, thus, it appeared that both France and Holland were included in a direct export from America within the small amount of six thousand two hundred hogsheads of tobacco for the last year, while Great Britain alone

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imported

imported above thirty thousand hogheads from that country in the same period of time. The superiority of English manufactures, the superior credit of her merchants, and the predilection of the Americans for the ancient habits of their commerce, were also urged; and the chancellor of the exchequer brought in a bill *for the better securing of the Duties upon Tobacco*, contemplating to produce the salutary effects which were desired.

He is said, on introducing this bill, to have declared, that, *the revenue, then arising from that article, scarce exceeded one half of what the nett duty would be if it were paid on the whole quantity consumed in the kingdom.*

In 1786, a bill was passed to prevent the fraudulent removal of tobacco, &c. and, from an investigation made in this year by the commissioners of public accounts, we learn that the establishment for the tobacco business comprehends the following offices.

Register general of tobacco	Fifth clerk
Chief clerk	Clerks for the inland tobacco business under the collector inwards
Second clerk	
Third clerk	
Fourth clerk	Ditto for ditto under the

the comptroller in-	for attending the
wards and outwards	burning ground
Viewer and examiner	Watchmen and la-
inwards and out-	labourers at the
wards	burning kiln
Inspector and surveyor	Bargemen to convey
of the tobacco burn-	tobacco to the kiln
ing ground	Superintendant of the
Tobacco cooper	tobacco lockers
Tobacco locker, exa-	Seven tobacco lockers
miner of manufac-	besides H. stone
tured tobacco, and	

The total amount of this establishment comprehends the following items; and is as follows.

	£.	s.	d.
Salaries and allowances from the crown, for felves, deputies, and clerks	1892	0	0
Payments by the principal or other officers to the deputies and clerks	24	12	0
Amount of fees, other allowances, and gratuities, exclusive of shares of seizures	209	19	0
Gross produce of the employments	2126	11	0
Payments for taxes	196	14	4
	X 2		Payments

	£.	s.	d.
Payments to the superannua- tion funds	19	7	10
Payments to deputies and clerks	24	12	0
Nett produce of employments	1885	16	10

In the year 1790, the business of the tobacco manufactures was considerably investigated before parliament, but as these inquiries are only collaterally connected with commerce, I shall, in this place, pass them over.

The importation of tobacco, or, rather the consequent productions of public revenue which arose from the importation of this article, from the fifth of January 1793, to the fifth of January 1797, yielded the following sums, annually, subject to the payment of bounties and management, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
For 1793	213,367	9	3
1794	241,889	13	6
1795	266,360	16	6
1796	252,453	11	0
Produce of condemned tobacco.			
For 1793	2,106	6	3
1794	5,404	15	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1795	1,836	17	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1796	5,871	6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total	989,290	15	3

The

The nett produce of the duties of excise upon tobacco and snuff, which was paid into the exchequer (as extracted from the general account), from the fixth of January 1793, to the fifth of January 1797, both days inclusive, was as follows:

	£.
For the year ended January 5, 1794	297,128
Ditto 1795	317,105
Ditto 1796	359,202
Ditto 1797	335,048
	1,308,483
Duties upon tobacco commencing	
December 7, 1795	156,515
Total	<u>1,464,998</u>

The payments into the exchequer, during the same period, on the part of Scotland, were,

For the year ended January 5, 1794	36,000
Ditto 1795	33,000
Ditto 1796	37,000
Ditto 1797	38,000
Total	<u>144,000</u>

The tax upon tobacco, provided for defray-
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ing the increased charge of the public debt from January 6, 1793, to January 5, 1797, amounted to £.164,015.

The duties imposed upon tobacco and snuff by the 36th George III. commenced December 7, 1795; and the first payment into the exchequer was made January 7, 1797. The actual receipt at the exchequer from January 5, 1797, to March 7, 1797, (so far as the same could be made out) was £.27,090*.

The quantity of tobacco delivered out for home consumption, at the several ports of Great Britain, in four years preceding January 5, 1797, with the amount of the gross and nett duties of *customs* collected thereon, was as follows.

Years	Quantity lb.	Gross Duties			Nett Duties		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1793	10,015,603	250,608	1	0	213,367	9	3
1794	10,848,087	271,201	8	6	241,889	13	6
1795	12,397,910	301,451	13	6	266,360	16	6
1796	11,490,446	287,252	11	0	252,453	11	0
Total	44,752,046	1,110,513	14	0	974,071	10	3

The select committee on finance, in their

* The tax imposed upon tobacco in 1796, paid into the exchequer, between January 5 and April 5, 1797, the actual sum of £.39,511.

fourth

fourth report to the house of commons in 1797, sanction the practice of warehousing and bonding goods imported, by the national experience, in respect to tobacco, in the following terms.

“ Your committee cannot conclude their report upon this important branch of the revenue, without submitting to the consideration of the house, a measure recommended by the highest authority in matters of commercial policy *, and supported by strong testimony, derived from an enlightened and extensive observation of practical details. It is conceived that the produce of the customs might be greatly increased (and the charges of management diminished, if not positively, yet comparatively, by the increase of income), if means could be found for adopting the system of warehousing goods imported, and bonding the duties, without actually levying them till the goods are taken out for home consumption. That the application of this principle is justified by the present usage in the case of tobacco; and that all the most important advantages of the same general plan might be obtained by extending the practice to a very few of the

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. III. Book iii. Chap. 2; and Appendix (L 3.) of their Report.

largest articles of importation. * The policy of such a measure, carried even to a wider extent, has been certainly *sanctioned by the ablest writings*; and your committee are now warranted by the official opinion of the inspector general of the commerce of the empire, in recommending its limited execution, as *safe for the revenue*, and as *likely to be productive of very great national advantages*.

The tobacco warehouse establishment, for the port of London, in respect to *excise*, contained, in the year 1797, thirteen officers, whose salaries amounted to £.1,143, fees £.1. 15. other emoluments £.4. 4; total emolument £.1,148. 19. 0; nett emoluments £.1,113. 7. 6: these are estimated as an increase of thirteen officers, whose salaries amount to £.1,143 †.

The value of tobacco imported for the half years ending January 5, 1797, July 5, 1797, and January 5, 1798, was as follows.

Half year ending January 5, 1797	£.138,669
Ditto . . . July 5, 1797	151,544
Ditto . . . January 5, 1798	155,695

* The committee cite the authorities herein before referred to.

† See fifth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, for particulars, inserted in the Appendix to this work.

The

The nett payment into the exchequer of the produce of duties upon tobacco (subject to payment of bounties, management, &c.), in the four quarters ending in October 1798, was £.273,165. 5. 0.

The average annual duties arising from tobacco imported into Ireland*, and collected thereon, for three years preceding March 25, 1798, amounted to £.144,199.

The same duties upon tobacco of the United States, imported and exported, amounted to the sum of £.38,929. 19. 2.

Under the head of permanent taxes, *for the year* 1796, the produce of duties upon tobacco ending January 5, 1798, amounted to £.168,255.

The ships laden (or chiefly so) with tobacco, which (according to the Jerquer's books) arrived in London annually from America, from the year 1792 to 1798, both years inclusive, were as follow, viz.

1792	84 ships	1796	55 ships
1793	56 ditto	1797	53 ditto
1794	56 ditto	1798	72 ditto
1795	55 ditto		

* See lord Auckland's speech on the union (*Appendix*, No. 6) April 11, 1799.

Mr. Irving, inspector general of the exports and imports of Great Britain, on his examination before a committee of the house of commons, touching the improvement of the port of London, on the 1st of July, 1799, gives it as his opinion, that it would be eligible to warehouse tobacco (as an article which he enumerates among others), at Wapping, or the Isle of Dogs; leaving the proprietors their choice. He states objections to the king's warehouses upon Tower-hill; because, instead of being landed directly from the vessel on the quays or wharfs, and rolled from thence into the adjacent warehouses, as the case would be if it were discharged in the docks, it is brought up from ships moored about a quarter of a mile below the Tower in lighters, landed on the legal quays, and from thence conveyed in carts, at the expence of one shilling and fourpence per hoghead, to the king's warehouses on Tower-hill.

The same trouble, and nearly the same expence, is said to attach to exportation; and this is considered to be, chiefly, a depot article: the quantity used for home consumption being small in proportion to what is re-exported.

Tobacco and rice are allowed to form two considerable

considerable articles of the imports of Great Britain; both these are esteemed proper subjects for the warehousing system; and as the proportion of rice from Virginia, or Maryland, or of tobacco from Carolina, or Georgia, is likely to be very inconsiderable in comparison, there does not appear to be any material reason to separate them far apart.

From what has been said, and the foregoing details, it will be readily seen that it is of great importance to the British nation to stand well with the *tobacco* states of America. I hope hereafter to have a better opportunity of enlarging upon these subjects. I shall only, at present, add a few points which have been passed over, from the highest authority of the British government.

The quantity of tobacco imported from America in 1791, was 14,119,636 lb. of the value of £.588,318. In the year 1792 the quantity of tobacco imported into great Britain, from America, was 22,427,124 lb. of the value of £.934,463. For the year 1798, the importation of tobacco *is stated* at the same quantity with the year 1791*, viz. 14,119,636 lb. which seems to be somewhat extraordinary.

* See second Report of the Committee on the improvement of the Port of London, 1799, p. 119.

Under the *existing* laws*, tobacco is warehoused on importation without payment of any excise duty; and may be taken out again for exportation free of any excise duty, or with a drawback thereof. But it is complained of, that *tobacco* is among the articles which are permitted to remain longer in the warehouse than is consistent with the safety of the revenue.

* See second Report of the Committee on the Improvement of the Port of London, 1799, p. 121.

A P P E N D I X.

An Account of what Increase or Diminution has taken place since 1782, in the Number, or in the Amount of the Salaries, concerning Tobacco, in the Office of CUSTOMS for London and the out Ports, extracted from Appendix (G 1.) VI. Rep. Sel. Com. on Finance, July 1797.

For the Port of London.

Six of the landing waiters and deputy king's waiters are appointed by rotation to the tobacco department, for a certain time, during which they have an additional £.100 per annum each, amounting to six hundred pounds per annum, by an order of the board, May 5, 1786.

The office of register general of tobacco is abolished, and one of the clerks thereof is allowed £.55 per annum for life. The reduction of officers, and saving of salaries, which result from this measure are as follow.

Register

	Officers.	Salaries.
Register general of tobacco	1	£.380
Clerks to ditto	5	360
Bargeman for conveying damaged tobacco from the quays to the kiln	1	40
Clerks for the inland tobacco business under the collector	2	120
Clerks for the inland tobacco business under the comptroller	2	120
Superintendant of the tobacco lockers	1	5
Tobacco cooper	1	40
Viewer and examiner of tobacco	1	

The annual saving is 14 £.1065

The increase of officers, of salary, the time, authority, and tenure of appointments, introduced, are as follow.

	Officers.	Salary.	Date of appointment.	Authority.	Tenure.
Principal surveyor in the tobacco department	1	£.400	March 28, 1787	Treasury	dur. plea.
Comptrolling surveyor, ditto	1	350	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
Warehouse keeper of the tobacco department	1	200	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
First clerk of the tobacco department	1	60	Aug. 29, 1787	Board's Min.	Ditto

Second

Officers.	Salary.	Date of appointment.	Authority.	Tenure.
Second department	1	50	May 5, 1786	Board's Ord. Ditto
Two gate keepers at the tobacco ware- houses, each £.50	2	100		
Three lockers				
Three landing officers				
Four stationed guard at the tobacco ware- houses				
These are allowed each one shil- ling per day when employed, in ad- dition to their pay as preferable weighers.				
A tide waiter for acting as inspector of the tobacco water guard		61	July 14, 1786	Board's Ord. Ditto
			Jan 22, 1792	Board's Min. Ditto
Three additional tide surveyors, for acting in the tobacco department		63	10 July 14, 1786	Board's Ord. Ditto
Messenger in the tobacco department	1	40	July 29, 1789	Board's Min. Ditto
The annual in- crease is	8	£.1324 10 *		

An officer for taking care of the damaged tobacco, &c. discontinued, by which reduction there is a saving of one officer, and £.40 salary †.

Appointer of tobacco weighers for the port of London, his salary increased £.15 †.

* Extracted as above from the fourth Rep. Select Com. on Finance, 1797, Appendix (G 1.).

† See fourth Rep. Com. Fin. p. 94.—Appendix, (G 1.) March 13, and April 9, 1795.

‡ See fourth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, p. 94, Appendix (G 1.)

Assistant

Affistant to the searchers for detecting frauds in manufacturing tobacco, &c. discontinued, by which there is saved one officer, and £.80 salary *.

Allowance to the collector at Whitehaven for a tobacco clerk, increased one officer, £.40, March 27, 1787, by order of the board †.

At Liverpool.

Affistant warehouse keeper for tobacco, one officer and £.100 salary, November 3, 1786, board's order.

Two landing waiters employed in the tobacco warehouses in lieu of fees, each £.80, two officers, and £.160 salary, November 3, 1786, September 7, 1790, board's order.

Two weighing porters employed in the same department, in lieu of fees six pence per day, two officers and £.15. 12. salary, June 27, 1788, board's order ‡.

The poundage upon seizures is *now* (though not formerly) extended to *tobacco*; upon which it is allowed to the officers of the customs §.

* See fourth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, p. 94, Appendix (G 1.)

† Ibid. p. 104.

‡ Ibid. p. 106.

§ See examination of John Dally, Esq. taken May 24, 1797.—Fourth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, p. 111.

N. B. See examination of William Cooper, Esq. touching
ing

ing the most complete collection of the custom laws. Fourth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, Appendix, (L 2.) p. 138.

It does not appear that there is any collection of the excise laws printed and sold for public use; but there is a collection of all the statutes passed previous to the 33d of George III. printed for the use of the office, with a complete analysis of their contents. The committee see no reason why this should not be *published* unreservedly.

Q. Would the system of warehousing goods in general, imported upon principles similar to that of tobacco, be productive of any essential benefit to the trade and revenues of the country?

See Mr. Irving's answer to this question, fourth Rep. Com. Fin. 1797, Appendix (L 3) p. 140.

EXCISE ESTABLISHMENTS of the Tobacco Warehouse for the Port of London, 1797,
 taken from the fifth Report from the Select Committee on Finance, 1797,
 Appendix, (C 1.) p. 52.

APPENDIX.

Excise Establishments.		Gross Emoluments				Deductions.			Nett Emoluments.	Appointm	Dur. of Int.	Increa. since 1782.	OBSERVATIONS.
No. of Off.	Employments.	Sal. & fixed Allow.	Fees	Other Emolum.	Total of Emoluments.	Taxes.	Other Deductions.	Total Deductions.					
	Tobacco warehouses	£. 150	£. s. d. 15 2 2	£. s. d. 2 2	£. s. d. 153 17 11	£. s. d. 11 5 0		£. s. d. 11 5 0	£. s. d. 142 12 0			£. 150	—These fees are a payment of six pence per lot for all seizures of tobacco and snuff sold and delivered; and these emoluments of £. 2 2 are an allowance of two guineas on each writ of appraisement of such seizures for condemnation in the exchequer, as the appraiser. * This emolument is £. 1 1 on each writ above mentioned, as the other appraiser.
1	Surveyor. Richard Jones	95		2 2	97	2 2 7 6		2 7 6	94 14 6			* 95	
1	Chief warehouse keeper.	95			95	0 2 7 6		2 7 6	92 12 6			95	
1	John Bilton	95			95	0 2 7 6		2 7 6	92 12 6			95	
1	Ditto. Samuel Smith												
1	Ditto. George Avins												
6	Warehouse keepers.	552			552	0 13 16 0		13 16 0	538 0 0			552	
	Each £. 92 0 Taxes 2 6												
	Nett 89 14												
2	Lockers.	116			116	0 2 18 0		2 18 0	113 2 0			116	
	Each 58 0 Taxes 1 9												
	Nett £. 56 11												
1	Porter and fire lighter	40			40	0 0 0			40 0 0			40	
13	Total	1143 1	15 4 4		1148 19 35	1 6		35 1 6	1117 17 6			1143	

The duty of the surveyor is to superintend the officers of this department; to compare the accounts of excise duties paid for tobacco and snuff, and take charge of seizures thereof. The chief warehouse keepers keep account of goods brought in and sent out, and of duties paid to the collector at the port; and they grant permits, and make out a weekly voucher of such duties. The warehouse keepers attend the weighing of tobacco and snuff inwards and outwards, and take account of the weights. The lockers attend the stowing away, and the delivery of the goods. And the porter watches the gate, lights the fires, and cleans the rooms in which the officers of this revenue perform their business.

Since 1782, this establishment has been made, in consequence of the placing tobacco and snuff under survey of the officers of the *excise*. It having been lately reported to the board, that from a change of the mode in which the American merchants conduct their business, a much less quantity of tobacco is imported for exportation than formerly. It is now in contemplation to drop two warehouse keepers, by which there will be a saving to the revenue of £.184 a year.

Duties payable upon Tobacco in Great Britain, 1799. Referred to in p. 225.

“Tobacco* may be imported on paying the same duties of customs and excise, as when imported by British subjects from British plantations in America; and snuff, upon payment of the same duties as snuff, the manufacture of Europe, when imported from Europe; tobacco and snuff paying also the *countervailing* duties†, when imported in American ships.”

According to *Mascall's Tables*, p. 112, Tobacco, now (1799), if regularly imported, entered, landed, and warehoused, is to pass free from duty.

It is nevertheless to be understood that tobacco and snuff cannot be imported in less casks than 450 lb. nett weight, except it be in small quantities for ships' use, not exceeding five pounds per man, and in vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burden or upwards. These are limited to the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, Cowes, Falmouth, Whitehaven, Hull, Glasgow, Greenock, Leith,

* Steel's Tables, p. 2.

† *Countervailing* duties are certain *additional* duties imposed upon importations from the United States in *American ships*.

and Newcastle upon Tyne; but such ships, laden wholly with tobacco, may go into Cowes or Falmouth, and wait fourteen days, in those ports, for orders.

Tobacco, which is cleared from the king's warehouses for home consumption, must pay the following duties, viz.

Tobacco of the growth, production, or manufacture of Spain or Portugal, or their dominions, must pay one shilling and six pence per pound weight for consolidated customs, and eighteen twentieths of a penny per pound weight for duties of 1796. For convoy duty two shillings and six pence per hundred pounds; and for excise three shillings.

Tobacco of the growth or production of the United States of America, when imported in an American ship, must pay six pence per pound weight consolidated customs, and is allowed six pence per pound weight drawback; it also pays six-twentieth parts of a penny per pound weight duty of 1796. For every hundred pounds weight it pays also one shilling and six pence countervailing duties; convoy duty two shillings and six pence; and one shilling and one penny excise.

Tobacco of the United States, or British plantations, when imported in a British built ship,

ship, must pay six pence per pound weight consolidated customs, six-twentieth parts of a penny per pound weight duty of 1796; two shillings and six pence per hundred pounds weight convoy; and one shilling and one penny excise.

Tobacco of Ireland pays six pence per pound weight consolidated customs; six-twentieth parts of a penny per pound weight duty of 1796; and one shilling and one penny excise.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from, Great Britain, for twelve Years preceding January 5, 1799.

Imports.

Years	Value of Imports exclusive of the East Indies and China.			Value of Imports from the East Indies and China.			Total Value imported.		
1787	14373156	15	7	3430806	0	6	17804024	16	1
1788	14573290	17	9	3453897	3	5	18027188	1	2
1789	14461954	9	2	3359148	1	5	17821102	10	7
1790	15981015	11	0	3149870	14	3	19130886	5	3
1791	15971069	0	7	3698713	13	0	19669782	13	7
1792	16957810	17	3	2701547	9	4	19659358	6	7
1793	15757693	16	10	3499023	12	10	19256717	9	8
1794	17830418	19		4458475	1	5	22288894	0	5
1795	16976179	1	8	5760710	8	3	22736889	9	11
1796	19800957	0	5	3386362	18	0	23187319	18	5
1797	17063794	8	5	3950162	9	0	21013956	17	5
1798	20236285	19	11						

Exports.

Exports.

Years.	Value of British Manufactures exported.			Value of foreign Merchandize exported.			Total Value of Exports.		
1787	12054224	3	2	4815890	2	5	16870114	5	7
1788	12724612	7	1	4747796	0	6	17472408	7	7
1789	13779506	2	6	5561042	14	5	19340548	16	11
1790	14921084	9	7	5199037	7	11	20120121	17	6
1791	16810018	16	4	5921976	10	11	22731995	7	3
1792	18336851	6	11	6568348	16	6	24905200	3	5
1793	13892268	17	7	6497911	9	3	20390180	6	10
1794	16725402	16	2	10023564	19	3	26748967	15	5
1795	16527213	2	2	10785125	15	2	27312338	17	4
1796	19106444	17	5	11317740	0	8	30424184	18	1
1797	16903103	6	1	12013907	2	0	28917010	8	1
1798	19771510	11	4	13883885	18	11	33655396	10	3

N. B. The declared value is supposed to exceed the rate of value in the inspector general's books about 71 per cent.

The account of the imports from China for the last year (1798) could not be obtained in time for insertion.

In the summer of 1796, the inspectors of tobacco at certain warehouses in the town of Petersburg in Virginia, are said to have been suspected of making use of tobacco, deposited in these public warehouses, to answer their own occasions. This suspicion brought about an investigation, in the month of November of

of the same year, whereby the deficiency was ascertained to be about *two hundred hogheads*. It is supposed that there was a deficiency of this nature as early as 1794; but the inspectors had it in their power to substitute tobacco fraudulently, in order to cover their scheme, by selling returned notes, and issuing them a *second time** into the world as the medium of circulation in this extraordinary species of speculation. They not only thus re-issued the notes which should have been officially *cancelled*, but are said to have issued *false* notes upon a similar basis, and to have been detected in both instances.

The inspectors endeavoured (as I am informed) to charge the merchants with this malfeasance; and the merchants, on the other hand, combined to detect a misdemeanour so injurious to the reputation of commerce, and tending to implicate themselves in the issue of this weak and impracticable subterfuge. Finally, the guilt was ascertained; the inspectors are said to have either connived at, or acted in the premises both personally and by the help of others; and the deficiency was saddled upon one or more of these agents of

* See page 86.

the public trade, who appeared to have re-fold the notes after the subject matter of their responsibility had been shipped.

The legislature were now petitioned, unsuccessfully, by the parties who had been deceived; and the latter were ultimately driven to an action at law against the state, which I understand to be yet undetermined*.

Immediately after this petition of the sufferers was rejected, an act of the legislature was passed for the amendment of the tobacco laws; and commissioners were appointed to examine the inspectors' books from time to time, to take inventories of the tobacco in the warehouses, to adjust the weights, &c. These commissioners have now a considerable controul over the inspectors in all necessary instances; but they have no power to restrain or direct them in regard to passing or refusing the crop. There are six commissioners, now in office, who officiate for the inspections at Peterburgh: and they are said to have been already of very great service to the trade.

I am happy to learn, and think it my duty to add to this recital, the exculpation of the senior inspector, who, I am informed, ap-

* See page 72.

peared to be innocent as to the *crime*, and no farther blameable as to the *permission* of it than what might be ascribable to an oversight; or, perhaps, to an unsuspecting confidence in his fellows in office.

THE END.



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